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Regional Oral History Office

Earl Warren Oral History Project

LABOR LEADERS VIEW THE WARREN ERA

Robert S. Ash

Alameda County Labor Council During
the Warren Years

Cornelius J. Haggerty

Labor, Los Angeles, and the Legislature

With Introductions by
George W. Johns

Interviews Conducted by
Miriam Feingold Stein
and
Amelia R. Fry

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LABOR LEADERS VIEW THE WARREN ERA

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PREFACE

The Earl Warren Oral History Project, a special project of the Regional Oral History Office, was inaugurated in 1969 to produce tape-recorded interviews with persons prominent in the arenas of politics, governmental administration, and criminal justice during the Warren Era in California. Focusing on the years 1925-1953, the interviews were designed not only to document the life of Chief Justice Warren but to gain new information on the social and political changes of a state in the throes of a depression, then a war, then a postwar boom.

An effort was made to document the most significant events and trends by interviews with key participants who spoke from diverse vantage points. Most were queried on the one or two topics in which they were primarily involved; a few interviewees with special continuity and breadth of experience were asked to discuss a multiplicity of subjects. While the cut-off date of the period studied was October 1953, Earl Warren's departure for the United States Supreme Court, there was no attempt to end an interview perfunctorily when the narrator's account had to go beyond that date in order to complete the topic.

The interviews have stimulated the deposit of Warreniana in the form of papers from friends, aides, and the opposition; government documents; old movie newsreels; video tapes; and photographs. This Earl Warren collection is being added to The Bancroft Library's extensive holdings on twentieth century California politics and history.

The project has been financed by four outright grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a one year grant from the California State Legislature through the California Heritage Preservation Commission, and by gifts from local donors which were matched by the Endowment. Contributors include the former law clerks of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Cortez Society, many long-time supporters of "the Chief," and friends and colleagues of some of the major memoirists in the project. The Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation and the San Francisco Foundation have jointly sponsored the Northern California Negro Political History Series, a unit of the Earl Warren Project.

Particular thanks are due the Friends of The Bancroft Library who were instrumental in raising local funds for matching, who served as custodian for all such funds, and who then supplemented from their own treasury all local contributions on a one-dollar-for-every-three dollars basis.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in the history of California and the West. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Amelia R. Fry, Director
Earl Warren Oral History Project

Willa K. Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

30 June 1976
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EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
(California, 1926-1953)

Interviews Completed - June 1976

Single Interview Volumes

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- Edwin L. Carty, Hunting, Politics, and the Fish and Game Commission. 1975.
- Ford Chatters, View from the Central Valley: The California Legislature, Water, Politics, and The State Personnel Board. 1976. With an introduction by Harold Schutt
- C.L. Dellums, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Civil Rights Leader. 1973. With an introduction by Tarea Pittman
- McIntyre Faries, California Republicans, 1934-1953. 1973.
- Richard Graves, Theoretician, Advocate, and Candidate in California State Government. 1973.
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- Helen S. MacGregor, A Career in Public Service with Earl Warren. 1973. With an introduction by Earl Warren
- Richard Allen McGee, Participant in the Evolution of American Corrections: 1931-1973. 1976. With an introduction by Caleb Foote
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- Edgar James Patterson, Governor's Mansion Aide to Prison Counselor. 1975. With an introduction by Merrell F. Small
- Tarea Pittman, NAACP Official and Civil Rights Worker. 1974. With an introduction by C.L. Dellums
- Robert B. Powers, Law Enforcement, Race Relations: 1930-1960. 1971. With an introduction by Robert W. Kenny
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Paul Schuster Taylor, California Social Scientist.

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Volume II, III: California Water and Agricultural Labor. 1975. With introductions by Paul W. Gates and George M. Foster

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Omar Cavins, Coming of Age in Bakersfield.

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Clarence Severin, Chief Clerk in the Alameda County District Attorney's Office.

Homer R. Spence, Attorney, Legislator, and Judge.

E.A. Daly, Alameda County Political Leader and Journalist.

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 U.S. Simonds, A Carpenter's Comments.
 Ernest H. Vernon, A Machinist's Recollections.

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 Hisako Hibi, paintings of Tanforan and Topaz camps.

The Governor and the Public, the Press, and the Legislature. 1973.

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 Portia Bell Hume, M.D., Mother of Community Mental Health Services.

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 Kent A. Zimmerman, M.D., Mental Health Concepts.
 Lawrence Arnstein, Public Health Advocates and Issues.



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 George Killion, Observations on Culbert Olson, Earl Warren, and Money Matters
 in Public Affairs.
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 Paul Leake, Statement on the Board of Equalization.

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 Kenyon Scudder, Beginnings of Therapeutic Correctional Facilities.
 Heman Stark, Juvenile Correctional Services and the Community.
 Kenneth Beam, Community Involvement in Delinquency Prevention.

Earl Warren's Campaigns.

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Stanley N. Barnes, Experiences in Grass Roots Organization.
 Thomas J. Cunningham, Southern California Campaign Chairman for Earl Warren, 1946.
 Murray Draper, Warren's 1946 Campaign in Northern California.
 William S. Mailliard, Earl Warren in the Governor's Office.
 Archibald M. Mull, Jr., Warren Fund-Raiser; Bar Association Leader.
 Rollin Lee McNitt, A Democrat for Warren.

Volume II: In Process.

Volume III: In Process.

California Democrats in the Earl Warren Era. 1976..

Florence Clifton, California Democrats, 1934-1950.
 Robert Clifton, The Democratic Party, Culbert L. Olson, and the Legislature.
 James Roosevelt, Campaigning for Governor Against Earl Warren, 1950.
 George Outland, James Roosevelt's Primary Campaign, 1950.
 Langdon Post, James Roosevelt's Northern California Campaign, 1950.

Bee Perspectives of the Warren Era. 1976.

Richard Rodda, From the Capitol Press Room.
 Herbert L. Phillips, Perspective of a Political Reporter.
 Walter P. Jones, An Editor's Long Friendship with Earl Warren.

The Warrens: Four Personal Views. 1976.

Horace Albright, Earl Warren Job Hunting at the Legislature.
 Irving and Jean Stone, Earl Warren's Friend and Biographer.
 Betty Foot Henderson, Secretary to Two Warrens.
 Benjamin H. Swig, Shared Social Concerns.

INTERVIEWER'S INTRODUCTION

As Earl Warren evolved from Alameda County district attorney to Chief Justice of the United States, so did the attitude of the labor movement toward him. The Warren years in California spanned several high points and crises in the history of labor organizing: the 1934 San Francisco Bay Area General Strike, the fight over the issue of secondary boycotts and "hot cargo," the Oakland General Strike of 1946-1947, the struggle for fair employment practices legislation, and the issue of migrant labor.

The Earl Warren Project has sought to document the relationship between labor and Earl Warren in several of its interviews. Bound herein are the reminiscences and reflections of two leading labor figures in the Warren years, Cornelius J. "Neil" Haggerty, the secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor from 1943 to 1960, and Robert S. Ash, the secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council from 1943 to 1967.

Other interviews touch on various aspects of labor history during the Warren Era. The volume entitled "Labor Looks at Earl Warren" offers the perspectives of five union men: a longshoreman, a printer, a warehouseman, a carpenter, and a machinist. A forthcoming volume on the shipboard murder case includes interviews from six participants in and observers of the most controversial labor case that District Attorney Warren prosecuted in court. Interviews on Warren's district attorney period and gubernatorial years touch on his attitudes toward various labor problems.

But the Regional Oral History Office's volumes do not come close to covering the field of labor history from 1925 to 1953, a subject that deserves greater scrutiny. Researchers should also consult David F. Selvin's Sky Full of Storm: A Brief History of California Labor (San Francisco, 1966 and 1975), recently revised, and should watch in anticipation for a forthcoming volume on San Francisco labor history by George W. Johns, the retired secretary of the San Francisco Central Labor Council. ROHO was especially delighted with George Johns's assistance in the preparation of this volume. In addition to writing an introduction to each interview based on his own recollections, he tape recorded each memoirist's successor to be added as introductory material: Richard Groulx for Robert Ash and John F. Henning for Neil Haggerty.

Miriam Feingold Stein
Interviewer/Editor

23 February 1976
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Earl Warren Oral History Project

Robert S. Ash

ALAMEDA COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
DURING THE WARREN YEARS

With an Introduction by
George W. Johns

An Interview Conducted by
Miriam Feingold Stein



Robert Ash

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INTRODUCTION

Probably the best description of Bob Ash came after his retirement in 1967. He described himself as "sort of a radical all my life."

From my viewpoint, he was a lean, feisty, somewhat nervous type who really enjoyed a convivial relationship with his colleagues. His best memories would be of sitting around a table, cutting up touches and cooking up plans for the future. He had an ability for leadership which he exercised on both rank and file and leadership levels. We had comparable jobs in adjacent communities and maintained a relaxed and friendly relationship. I found him especially helpful when disputes and "beefs" required moral strength and dedication to the interests of working people. This man was not a pie-card.

Bob started as a Machinist at about the time of the 1934 strike. After Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, he became secretary and organizer of a Teamster union of miscellaneous garage helpers. He ran against Fred Silverthorn and became secretary of the Alameda Labor Council in 1943. Prior to Roosevelt this Labor Council had practically been the County Central Committee of the Socialist Party.

Bob was active in mediation and negotiations in the East Bay and was deeply involved in the Oakland General Strike of 1946-47. He was also a leader in the nine-month Safeway strike of 1949. The Retail Clerks lost the Safeway Store managers in this dispute, and Bob would never forgive Dave Beck of the Teamsters for going through his picket lines.

I asked Dick Groulx, who succeeded Bob in 1967, about these beefs, about Bob Ash, and about the Alameda County Central Labor Council in an oral interview held October 23, 1975. Here are his remarks:

George W. Johns
Executive Secretary, retired
San Francisco Labor Council

January 1976
San Rafael, California



Union leader Richard Groulx

Local union leader Groulx is dead at 61

By **ROBBY COHEN**
STAFF WRITER

Richard Groulx, who headed the Alameda County Labor Council for 16 years, died Saturday morning in his Dublin home. He was 61.

Under Groulx's leadership, the Alameda County Labor Council — representing 60,000 workers in 140 unions — became one of the AFL-CIO's most militant local councils, as well as one of the most effective in securing wage and benefit gains for union members.

Although he wielded considerable power within the AFL-CIO and the Democratic Party, Groulx was never one to hide behind a desk. He walked picket lines with the rank and file and was arrested more than 17 times in labor struggles.

A vocal critic of the University of California's labor relations record, Groulx helped lead a strike against the university in 1972. At the AFL-CIO Labor Day picnic last year, Groulx told *The Daily Californian*, that "(the university) is worse than a private employer and worse than a public employer; it runs like a feudal state."

Groulx charged that the university had repeatedly failed to negotiate in good faith with campus labor unions.

"We had a strike there several years ago; it could have been avoided except that UC took a totally intransigent line. I think they're a lousy employer. They treat workers unfairly and then fall back on being a great educational institution," Groulx said.

Activists in the Bay Area labor movement credit Groulx with helping to involve the local AFL-CIO in nu-

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Groulx dead

FROM FRONT PAGE

merous progressive causes.

"His labor council was the first in the nation to oppose the war in Vietnam," according to a statement issued yesterday by the university campus clerical union, AFSCME #3211.

"No matter what the obstacles, he

never flinched from moving us toward a better understanding of the devastating effects of U.S. foreign policy in Central and South America on our lives and on the lives of our brothers and sisters around the world," the statement reads.

In his tenure as executive secretary of the Central Labor Council, which ended with his retirement last January, Groulx was active in fighting

racial discrimination both at the work place and within the labor movement itself. "He was an integrationist before it was fashionable," said Steve Martin, his successor on the labor council.

Groulx worked to mobilize the labor movement in anti-apartheid protests. He was arrested last year during a demonstration against South African airlines and he marched to protest the university's investments in South Africa.

Although organized labor's influence has declined during Ronald Reagan's presidency, Groulx said last year, that the labor movement is not falling apart.

During last fall's interview, Groulx said, "If you understand the history of the labor movement, you won't buy this line about unions going downhill. We've always been a minority move-

ment to protect workers. Sooner or later, we have to fight the employers' greed, and that's what we're all about."

INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD GROULX, Executive Secretary,
Alameda County Central Labor Council

(Date of Interview: 23 October 1975)

Johns: This is an interview, and the subject is the Alameda Labor Council and its secretary, Robert S. Ash. It's being done on Thursday, October 23, 1975, at 2 p.m. The man that I am interviewing is Mr. Richard Groulx. He is the secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. Is that what you call it, Dick? Is that the official name?

Groulx: Yes--executive secretary.

Johns: Yes. And you're at 150 Grand Avenue in Oakland, and your phone number is 444-6510. Now, we're going to talk about your Labor Council and about Ash, but first I want to know about you--what you're like, what's your birthdate, and tell us a little bit about yourself.

Groulx: I don't know what I'm like. I was born December 7, 1924, so I'm fifty years old. I grew up for a while in central New York near Syracuse, went and spent--with my family, of course--seven years in Kansas, went back to New York State, and finally migrated to California in 1940.

Johns: What were your educational attainments?

Groulx: I had about three years of college, but in an unusual way. I went to junior college, joined a V-12 program during World War II and therefore went on sort of a speed-up kind of program; we didn't take any time off between semesters. So I accumulated about three years of university, but I did them under this V-12 program which meant they were all run together during World War II.

Johns: When did you finish this university education?

Groulx: In 1943.

Johns: Then what did you do?

Groulx: Well, I was in the Marine Corps and I was sent to Hawaii. My timing may be bad, but it was just two or three months after the atomic bomb was dropped. We were part of what would have been the invasion of Japan, but of course that didn't happen. I stayed there for two years. I took a discharge in Hawaii and I worked for a very short time at the Bishop Museum.

In June of '46 I got a discharge there. I was assistant curator of collections at the Bishop Museum, which means that I wrote numbers on a canoe and mixed up alcohol for fish specimens and that, for about a month or so. Then I went to work for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Local 5, in Honolulu. I was started as a newspaper editor and wound up organizing the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

Johns: And how long did you stay there?

Groulx: Until January or February of '48.

Johns: Then did you come to Oakland?

Groulx: Yes.

Johns: And what did you do here?

Groulx: I was going to go back to school under the G.I. Bill. In the interim, I ran into a guy from the Teamsters Union who had been in Hawaii, and he hired me to do an organizing job on a temporary basis. This was Local 588 of the Teamsters. I worked for them for about four years.

Johns: That would bring it up to 1951?

Groulx: Yes, '51 or '52.

Johns: Then what did you do?

Groulx: I took a job with the Office Employees Union as an organizer. It was not with the local union; though I worked out of the local. I was hired by the California Council of Office Employees. Very temporary job, but I took it on because I was pretty well unhappy with the Teamsters because of the dispute they'd had with Safeway, and I took the job just to get out of the Teamsters, really.

- Johns: Was that at the time of the big Safeway strike where Bob Ash got involved with Einar Mohn and Beck and Tobin and the whole bunch?
- Groulx: Yes. I worked for 588, which was a delivery drivers union and also represented the produce market's driver salesmen. Within a year of the time I went to work for the local, we were involved in this dispute.
- Johns: What year was that, Dick?
- Groulx: I think it was '49.
- Johns: And how long were you with the Office Employees?
- Groulx: Four years. The assistant secretary's job in the Labor Council then was elective; it is not now. But I ran for it and won. So I left the Office Employees.
- Johns: When was that?
- Groulx: This was in '56.
- Johns: You've been on the payroll of the Labor Council ever since: eleven years as assistant secretary, and since then, you've been elected secretary and you are the secretary now--executive secretary of the Labor Council.
- Groulx: That's right.
- Johns: Would you care to comment on your politics during this period? I find that in Oakland, Bob Ash reported that this Labor Council was a socialist organization prior to Roosevelt. After Roosevelt, I guess it was pretty much a Democratic organization. I'd like to get your political viewpoints very briefly.
- Groulx: I've never thought about that. I grew up during the Roosevelt era. My family thought he was close to a deity, and I guess that would describe my politics. I'm basically, I would guess, maybe a socialist, but I have never expounded or been involved with the socialist movement, simply because I'm very much a practical man, and there's never been that kind of indication that you could win a damn thing with it. So I've never been there.

I was approached in the Hawaiian Islands when the communists had a very strong tie with the ILWU, and

Groulx: many of my mentors there were ILWU guys--well, not many; I'd say two strong ones--McElrath primarily, and one other individual there. I was heavily approached then to be a communist, but it never was very attractive to me because I always felt there was too goddamn much conspiracy involved in it. Although they picked me up there because I was writing some very radical pieces for a little newspaper we had, I never was inclined that way--although I have never been heavily anti-communist, either; I've never felt that we needed a witch hunt or anything like that. I thought they were pretty much ineffective [witch hunts].

I guess you could call me a Democrat with strong socialist leanings, except that I don't have that much respect for Democrats, either; I think we conduct ourselves in a stupid way most of the time. So what I am, really, is practical or pragmatic or opportunistic so far as what the labor movement gets out of any political situation. I'd just as soon support a Republican if that's what it looks like the labor movement should get, even though I've only voted for about two Republicans in my whole life, I think.

Johns: That's very clear. I'm running into this same answer in lots of cases. It's surprising how many people in the labor movement tell me that they were socialists and voted socialist when Roosevelt first ran. But the second time he ran, they voted Roosevelt.

Groulx: Yes. I was too young to vote for Roosevelt, but I thought that was the turning point, from my limited background in political science.

Johns: That'll give the listeners a viewpoint of your politics, Dick. Let's go on from there, then. You started here on the payroll in '56. The General Strike here was in '46. The Safeway strike was in '49, I think. So you missed those.

Groulx: I was here in '49. I was on the wrong side of the Safeway strike.

Johns: I see. You were on the Teamsters side.

Groulx: Yes, I was a Teamster, and a very aggressive Teamster.

Johns: All right. That's enough of that.

Now I want to ask you: you're executive secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council. What is the Alameda County Central Labor Council?

Groulx: We're a council of a hundred and fifty unions, about 65,000 members chartered in this county by the AFL-CIO. As you well know, George, we're a voluntary association; unless an international union requires it, a local union doesn't have to belong to us. In this area, about ninety-five percent of the unions do. We represent the locals in their disputes with the employers, in community affairs, and in politics.

Johns: What are your duties and responsibilities in this regard?

Groulx: I try to hold people together.

Johns: By that you mean get them to support each other.

Groulx: Right. Try to keep them from chewing each other up. I think maybe my major claim to any kind of capabilities is that I'm a fairly good negotiator. I try to negotiate settlements for our affiliated local unions where I can and to get universal support from our unions when I can't. I try, I think, primarily to help avoid strikes, and then secondarily to win them when we can't. In between, there are a lot of other duties.

Johns: While you're still on this negotiating thing, what do you feel you are--a mediator, or an arbitrator, or just a negotiator, or what? After all, you're paid by the Labor Council--paid by labor. How does this work out?

Groulx: I'm a very aggressive negotiator, as any negotiator must be. He's got to know a little bit about mediation. In other words, I can come in when a local has trouble with an employer and I can get a settlement simply because I come from a different position. But I'm primarily a negotiator and primarily an advocate, and I know that that's a little different than your background on it, and I know why your mediatory position came about. We are here primarily advocates.

Sometimes I think we don't get as much done that way. On the other hand, I think for the good of our

Groulx: overall movement, we probably do pretty well. But there is a difference in councils about it, and I am very much an advocate rather than a mediator.

Johns: How about Bob Ash? Did he feel the same way you feel about this?

Groulx: I think he did. I think Bob was a little better mediator than I am, so I think he may have been a little more on the mediator side. But I'm not even sure of that.

Johns: You also said your duties include politics; what do you do in politics? What are your specific duties as executive secretary?

Groulx: Well, we have maybe the only council in the state that has a full time, year-round COPE (Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO) office. We've had to kind of shift positions, particularly since Proposition 9. But up until now in every general election we've mailed to every registered Democrat at least once in any campaign the Labor Council's position, and we man a COPE office that has twenty telephones in it, and we start out with a phone bank in the last two weeks of the campaign to call up most of the registered Democrats (obviously you don't get everybody that way). We have precinct organizations, not throughout the county but in specific areas and in specific campaigns.

Johns: Friendly areas, that is.

Groulx: Well, where we think we're going to win, yes, and where we can have an impact. I do that, plus I bargain with the Democrats and sometimes the Republicans (although we don't try to kid anybody about how well we don't get along with Republicans). Once in a while we deal with a Republican candidate. But, mostly, I am sort of the contact man with the Democrats.

For instance, just before I met with you today, I was talking to Bill Cavahlo, who works out of Assemblyman Lockyer's campaign, and we were talking about charter change in Berkeley and the mayor's race.

I think we've been effective here in trying to get a better coalition with the liberal forces in town--the Democrats, of course, and ourselves. We've put the heat on the Democrats to come up with good

Groulx: candidates in the nonpartisan races and things like that. We are less coordinated than you were in San Francisco. Over there, except for Marks and a couple of guys, Republicans don't survive very well. Here, we have to fight a loose coalition of all kinds of people all the time. So there's a lot of my time that goes into discussing those kinds of things with Democratic forces here.

Johns: Do you have a formal relationship with either the Democratic County Central Committee or with the Democratic State Council?

Groulx: I try to keep that very informal, but I have excellent relations with the chairman of the Democratic Committee, and particularly with the administrative assistants of all the assemblymen and the senators. I would say that I've made a real effort not to formalize that, but also a real effort to keep it in good shape--and we do.

Johns: Was this generally Bob Ash's policies, too? Did he do very comparable to what you did, or is there a difference?

Groulx: Bob and I had a different approach, though it was compatible. Bob was much more tied up with Democratic politics as such, and I don't in any way try to judge that, because the times were different and things were entirely different. My political involvement came about in 1958 when the right-to-work law came up. Before that time, I was around here, obviously, for about six years or so--better than that, eight years--and I was interested in politics. But there was no real differentiation between Democratic politics and labor politics.

But when we started in 1958, I was assigned as a real greenhorn to go into various areas and set up our right-to-work program. From that, I evolved a different kind of approach than we had had before. Bob was close to the Democrats and I felt that we had to develop an identity of our own and that we couldn't afford to simply be an adjunct to the Democratic party. So, my approach from then on was to set up a strong COPE and bargain with the Democrats rather than to integrate with them. I've done that ever since.

Johns: Do you feel you've been successful?

- Groulx: I think so. By that I don't mean that Bob's approach was wrong or even contrary; it was just an evolution.
- Johns: I understand. There was a difference in time element, actually, and you were forced, by reasons of anti-labor legislation, namely right-to-work, to take a new concept, new look and new program, right? Is that what happened?
- Groulx: Exactly.
- Johns: What about in legislation, Dick? As executive secretary of your labor council, do you play a part in legislation?
- Groulx: I very much integrate my activity with the State Federation of Labor in regard to state legislation. We're very fortunate here in that all of our assemblymen, including Floyd Mari whom we didn't endorse, are very much of a constructive and cooperative nature, as far as labor is concerned.

So, my lobbying is very easy. I keep in touch with the California Labor Federation, I deal with legislators on an almost constant basis. I'm talking to most of them regularly, but I don't have to do a hell of a lot of lobbying, which is that fortunate in terms of what we have up there. On a specific issue, then I have to maybe make a phone call, once in a great while go up to Sacramento. But we're extremely fortunate in the kind of representatives that we have there.

Now, I don't hesitate to go up and lobby and advocate our position, but most of the time, in all truth, it's not very important, because nine times out of ten, all the people we have in this county are voting with us, with the exception, maybe, of Jack Holmdahl who has to be talked to once in a while. But the other guys--you really don't have to worry that much about it.

- Johns: What about in your county council? The board of supervisors, or whatever you call it?
- Groulx: That's a whole different ball game. In spite of enjoying a Democratic majority everywhere, we have a hell of a time with our local offices. It's far different, for instance, from San Francisco. In Oakland, which is our biggest city, of course, we have two or three votes out of seven or nine--whatever that is--when we're lucky. On the board of supervisors,

Groulx: even though we've elected a majority of Democrats, now it's still a tenuous thing; we still have to go there and quarrel and lobby. In truth, if any lobbying should be attributed to my job, it's in [this area]. We've got thirteen cities in the county and boards of supervisors and the like, and that's where our real problem lies politically in terms of lobbying.

Johns: And that's on the local level. In other words, you're a county council, and you have county problems in the legislative area.

Groulx: Right. Thirteen cities, and that includes school boards in each city and personnel boards and all. That is really our major problem in the county. We can elect Democrats who are good on the state level, and we have to fight every day on the local level.

Johns: What about unfavorable labor legislation here on the county level? I'm talking about such things as anti-picketing legislation and things like that. I seem to recall that you had much more trouble cancelling out some of that very anti-labor legislation in years gone by than we had in San Francisco. Why was that?

Groulx: We're a very diversified county. Up until very recently the southern part of our county was farm lands and very small towns. For instance, the only two cities I know about in Northern California which passed a right-to-work bill were Livermore and Pleasanton. It was a statewide thing, of course, but those two cities voted in favor of it.

Johns: But it didn't carry.

Groulx: Oh, no, not in the county. The county here has always gone very liberal. But in all of this, we've held our own. For instance, the county itself, just three weeks ago, wanted to adopt an ordinance or resolution that came out of Manteca, I think, or Modesto, against food stamps for strikers. We were able to beat that off, and we generally are. We don't have any real restrictive ordinances in Alameda County in terms of picketing or anything like that. But we do have to be vigilant all the time because we do have some people, particularly on the board of supervisors, who are really reactionary. When we go down, we win, but we have to keep on it all the time.

Johns: In this matter of legislation, both in Sacramento and in local legislation, do you think that what you've

Johns: been saying would also apply to Bob Ash? Was he the same as you in this, or was it different problems or a different approach or what?

Groulx: I'd have to guess a little bit, because when I came on the council I was assigned to organizing, negotiating, and things like that, and I really have to be embarrassed a little bit to say that I probably didn't know enough about Bob's political problems for the first several years that I was on because I was doing some other things.

I would think, first of all, that his problems were tougher, just because the county has been advancing in the first place. And then, secondly, I would think he was as aware or more aware of the general problems than I was, because he did an excellent job in terms of the lobbying and politics. He may have done a better job in some ways, because he worked with people like the district attorney and others who were more conservative, and I haven't had to do that. The county has evolved into a more liberal county, and so I don't try too damn hard to get along with some of the people that Bob would have had to deal with. For instance, Frank Coakley, who was our district attorney. But that is, again, a matter, really, of evolution, because I didn't have to do it.

Johns: Changing times, since Bob started and since you started.

Groulx: Right.

Johns: We've covered a lot of background and we've tried to give a picture of what the council looks like, and your duties and responsibilities. Now let's get over to Bob Ash, the individual, as an executive secretary. Do you want to make any comments about Bob Ash? Let's talk about him directly now.

Groulx: The first thing I would have to say is that when I came on the scene, Bob was a very well established labor representative already. I got interested, oddly enough, because the Teamsters union, which I represented then, and the Central Labor Council were in real conflict when I came in; and the first attention I'm sure that I got from Ash was as a real antagonist, because I was firmly convinced that the Teamsters were right and the AFL-CIO wasn't (they were all AFL then, and the Teamsters were still affiliates and in the

Groulx: Labor Council). But I thought we were right as hell in a couple of beefs we were in, and I fought very vigorously on the floor, sometimes to the point where half of the Teamsters would flake out and leave the meeting while I was holding forth. That never bothered Bob.

Later, when I went to work for the Office Employees, how I ran into him was that we were at that time very much a minority union. Now the people talk about the teachers and the public workers; well, the office workers were way behind in terms of what they were able to do, and I represented them.

I would come down to the council and raise merry hell and get strike sanction. I guess I must have been the most active picket on the West Coast, because I've picketed damn near every place that you could find. The council would always back me up.

I didn't run so much into Bob at that time because, although I don't think he is, he seemed to a lot of the younger guys to be a little aloof. I felt later that that was shyness rather than anything else. But I would keep hanging around. My predecessor in office, assistant secretary Bill Fee, who was an ex-milk wagon driver, took an interest in me. He would invite me to go to lunch with him occasionally, and I would, and spend time sort of listening to the oral history of what happened in Alameda County. Fee kind of picked me up as a protege; I don't know why.

I sort of slipped in to the group that was running the council at the time, just almost by being there, I guess, and because of Fee. Then I got to know Ash pretty well.

What I liked about him, and always have, was he was encouraging young people to take a shot at what we were doing. When you think about what people call the labor movement establishment and all that, it was kind of unusual that a young guy fresh out of the Teamsters and fightin' like hell for the Office Workers got establishment support, every time almost. Once in a while I'd get caught up because I'd gone out and put a picket line on somebody without even checking, you know, and somebody'd throw me out of the place or something. Mostly, I had full and total support out of the council. I came then to respect

Groulx: that a great deal. Then it was Bill Fee who said I ought to think about coming into the council as a representative. (Of course, that was before Bill became ill and all.)

I kind of saw the council as a real answer for a lot of our problems, and I didn't have any interest from that point on in going up in my international union or anything like that; I just thought that where we were going was great. While Fee was sort of the spokesman on it, Ash was the guy who had to provide encouragement, and he always encouraged me, even though he was very quiet. I really thought I didn't know him very well until I went to work for him, but that's another story.

Anyhow, I felt that there was something in this council that had real excitement about it for a young guy, which is kind of funny because, as you well know, there ain't no place to go after you become secretary of a council. But I somehow caught the feeling that that's where I wanted to go, and it happened quite early.

Johns: In a central labor council is where it's at.

You say after you went to work with Bob, however, you found out he was a little warmer as an individual.

Groulx: Yes. I think Bob was kind of a shy guy. I guess it would be truthful to say that I'm a little bit more of a politician. I make a point of encouraging participation and all that. Bob was a little bit more of a tactician and maybe a little more brains than I have. He did have a bit of a reputation of being a little standoffish, but he never was with me.

He was great to work for. He almost never directed me as to what to do. Maybe once or twice a week we'd sit down and exchange what the hell was going on, and then he'd tell me, "Go out and do it."

We were of different natures. I got into things he probably never would have. But I always had the feeling that I was on firm ground whenever I was doing what I thought was right.

Johns: You feel that he was backing you up and supporting you.

Groulx: A hundred percent.

- Johns: If you'd get in over your head, he'd probably jerk you out?
- Groulx: That's right, yes; he'd go in and get me out.
- Johns: After his experiences in the Oakland General Strike and in the Safeway strike, do you think he ever forgave the Teamsters?
- Groulx: No, I don't think so.
- Johns: He took that very deeply, didn't he?
- Groulx: He was very much hurt. I think there's something about having been a Teamster. In a sense, even though my heart and affiliation are with the AFL-CIO, I think an ex-Teamster who gets bounced always feels it deeply. I was an ex-Teamster; I didn't get bounced. But even though I don't think they deserve the reputation, in the Teamsters there's something like being in the Marine Corps; people feel that's the best outfit to have been with because of their power. I don't know that that affected Ash, but I do know that he never forgave the Teamsters for breaking the picket lines.
- Johns: I think we've about covered the subject, Dick. Can you think of anything further we should say on this subject of the Alameda Labor Council and its prior executive secretary, Robert S. Ash?
- Groulx: Yes, I think a couple of things. In case I've indicated in any way that the council is a lot different since I got in office, that's not so. Our council has progressed, and I think Ash had the most to do with it as anyone. It is a different kind of council than most any I know of, and it was born out of conflict.

It started, really, as an organizing committee that dealt with grocery stores and produce. To that extent Ash was involved with it, though he wasn't in it in the beginning. The whole nature of this council was pretty well described by his participation, and I feel strongly that what I've done is inherited a pretty good council, not built it on my own.

The other thing that I think is not mentioned anywhere that I've seen, not only here, is that people seem to forget when speaking about Ash's accomplishments that the biggest thing that happened when I was

Groulx: around was when we got into the right-to-work fight. This council borrowed money from every conceivable source--unions, primarily, but anywhere we could--to put on a county-wide program, set up the first precinct organization that I had ever encountered (in fact, I was told to go out to the Seventeenth Assembly District and set up a precinct organization, and I didn't even know what the hell a precinct sheet was; I was just sent out there and did it). That Seventeenth Assembly District is the only assembly district in the state of California that had a higher percentage against the right-to-work than it had for Governor Brown. As you know, Brown outran the right-to-work by quite a few percentage points.

Ash did all that. We wasted a hell of a lot of money; I was around to help waste it. But I think his imagination and his drive in that thing was exceptional. I never hear him mention that, but to me, of all the things I've seen him do here--we had some big strikes, the fiberboard strike and others, since I was around; I think we did a good job for our people. But I never hear him or anyone say that--the 1958 campaign, when we defeated Knowland so thoroughly (and in this county just beat the Jesus out of the right-to-work people) was, I think his highest accomplishment. But I never hear it said.

Johns: As a former labor council secretary, I've always appreciated the term "agitator." A lot of people think that they're labor statesmen or diplomats or all this sort of stuff. But I've always felt that the thing that motivated me and the thing I was proud of, is that I was to a degree at least an agitator, going right back to the beginnings of the labor movement. I think that probably you and Bob, in your own respective ways, were both pretty competent agitators. You had motivation to be an agitator and you were competent in your own times and in your ways.

From 1932 (when FDR was elected) till today there's been a lot of changes. I'm proud to accept the title of agitator, and I think both you and Bob Ash were agitators and very competent ones in that part of the labor movement that you represented. Over and out.

[End of Interview]

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Robert S. Ash was interviewed for the Earl Warren Project of the Regional Oral History Office in order to document his contribution to organized labor in the East Bay as Secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council from 1943 until his retirement in 1967, and to comment on the relationship between the labor movement and Earl Warren.

Interviewer: Miriam Feingold

Conduct of the
Interview:

A single interview was held on September 3, 1970 at Mr. Ash's home eight miles outside of Fort Jones, California, a small community northwest of Mount Shasta. The living room picture window afforded a sweeping view across a narrow valley to the Marble Mountains.

The tape recorder was set inconspicuously on a coffee table. Both Mr. Ash and the interviewer sat in easy chairs near the picture window.

A written outline had been submitted to Mr. Ash before the interview, and he used this as a base from which to reminisce about his long and active career in the labor movement. He spoke in a relaxed and informal manner, and recalled easily, without notes, the names and dates he mentioned.

Editing:

Editing of the transcribed taped interview was done by the interviewer. Minor rearrangements of material were made to maintain continuity of the discussion without interrupting its informal quality. Mr. Ash very carefully reviewed the edited text, corrected several

minor points, and added a few written statements to amplify or clarify his original comments.

Narrative Account of

the Interview: Robert Ash, who describes himself as "sort of a radical all my life," learned early about the trade union movement from his father, an active member of the bakers' union and several times a delegate to California State Federation of Labor conventions.

Ash joined the automobile machinists' union on the brink of the 1934 General Strike and immediately became involved in the first of many labor disputes he would see during his career. Shortly thereafter he turned his energies toward organizing the miscellaneous garage help into the Teamsters Union; most of these workers were black and then barred from membership in the Auto Machnists.

His fellow union members, recognizing Ash's energy and dedication, elected him Secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council in 1943. Mr. Ash comments briefly on the history of the Council and the major obstacles to organized labor in the early 1940's.

The highlight of Mr. Ash's career was the 1946-47 general strike in Oakland, a short-lived but dramatic work stoppage that might have succeeded but for the intervention of Dave Beck and the International Teamsters. The tension between the Central Labor Council and the Teamsters became even more severe the following year during a local election and resulted in Ash's changing his membership from the Teamsters to the Retail Clerks.

An important function of the Central Labor Council was its role in political campaigns. Mr. Ash describes his election-time activities in the Truman-Dewey campaign, and also his lobbying work in Sacramento.

Throughout his reminiscences, Mr. Ash comments on labor's attitudes and his own toward Earl

Warren as attorney general, governor, and Chief Justice. Referring to Warren as "one of the best Chief Justices we've ever had," Mr. Ash notes that he was "never the liberal as governor or attorney general or district attorney in Alameda County that he was as Supreme Court Justice."

Miriam Feingold,
Interviewer

25 October 1971
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley

(Recorded September 3, 1970)

I FAMILY BACKGROUND

Feingold: Could you start by telling me where and when you were born?

Ash: I was born in Texas in 1907.

Feingold: Whereabouts in Texas?

Ash: Cleburne, Texas. My folks moved all over Texas and into New Mexico for two or three years, and then they moved to California and were out here in about 1910, I guess it was, until I was about seven years old. That would have made it 1914. We went back to Texas and lived in Texas for just a short time, and then moved up into Oklahoma, lived almost all over Oklahoma, I guess, and then to Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Wyoming, and then back to California in '23. They moved into Los Angeles when they came back out here. They had lived in L.A. when they were here before for two or three years. I went to school there. I went to the last three years of high school in L.A. I quit school in '26, I guess it was. Then we got married in '30 and then in '33 we moved up North, to Modesto and then into the Bay Area.

Feingold: How come your family had moved around so much?

Ash: My father was a number of things. He had been a trade-unionist since sometime before the turn of the century. He had belonged to the Baker's Union in New Orleans. That was part of it, at least when we were in California. But the probable reason was that he was a pretty good baker, and I guess he thought he was the best baker in the world. He had a little bit of a temper and was a little bit hard to get along with, so it was a question sometimes of whether he was fired first or quit first.

Ash: Then in Oklahoma, so many moves there were because he was more or less following the oil boom in Oklahoma after he left Texas.

Feingold: Was he originally from Louisiana?

Ash: No. I was born in Texas; he was born in Texas, too.

Feingold: And was your mother also born in Texas?

Ash: No. She was born in Ohio.

Feingold: What were their names, by the way?

Ash: Robert W. Ash and Myrtle Rork.

Feingold: And did you have any brothers or sisters?

Ash: I had three brothers.

Feingold: Did they also become trade union people?

Ash: Yes. I started to say no. One of them was a member of the Baker's [Union] as a baker. My youngest brother is a school teacher in the Redding high school district. He's a member of the AFT. The other brother is a retired soldier. I guess he belonged to the union in the officers' club, or something like that.

Feingold: Was your father an active union person while you were growing up?

Ash: Well, that's hard to say. I don't know. In Texas and Oklahoma -- especially in Oklahoma -- I doubt whether there were any bakers' unions there. All I know is, he maintained his membership, through the years. Whether he was active in those days in the sense that I call active -- in attending meetings and participating in union affairs -- I don't know. All I know is after they moved back to L.A. he was active in the local bakers' union in Los Angeles, and in the valley, the San Joaquin Valley, when he was working in Modesto and that area, and then a little bit in Oakland when they moved to Oakland. But he must have been fairly active, because he knew a lot of the international union people, and had been, I guess, a delegate to State Fed. [Federation] conventions when they were first in California, and he attended a

Ash: couple of conventions after they moved back.
 But just how active, I don't know.

II JOINING THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Auto Machinists Union

Feingold: Is that how you got interested in the trade union movement yourself?

Ash: I really don't know. I would guess that it had a lot to do with it, coming from that background, but I've just been inclined that way. Sort of a radical all my life, I guess. When I moved to Oakland where there was union organization going on, why I joined just as soon as I got a job in an automobile shop, and I've been a member ever since.

Feingold: What union was that, that you joined?

Ash: Auto Machinists in Oakland. Auto Machinists 1546.

Feingold: And about when was that?

Ash: That was in July of 1934, about ten days before the '34 General Strike -- six days, I guess it was.

Feingold: So did you participate in that?

Ash: Yes. I was out on strike with everybody else, and chairman of a committee for the Auto Mechanics, and seeing that automobile shops in Oakland particularly and North Oakland, up Broadway, and up into Albany were closed. I ran for office and was elected to office in the Auto Machinists, and was declared ineligible by the

Ash: international union, and rightly so -- I hadn't been a member long enough to hold office. Then I was active in it, and a delegate to the [Labor] Council for the Auto Mechanics, beginning in '35, I guess - '34 or '35, I'm not too sure -- and an executive board member up until the time I went to work for a new union in Oakland, the Garage Employees, in '37, as their secretary and organizer.

Organizing for the Garage Employees Union

Feingold: How did you come to go to work for them?

Ash: Well, it's a long, involved story. The auto mechanics and the auto painters were organized almost completely; the automobile salesmen were just starting to get organized; and the miscellaneous help around the garage or dealer shops, the lubricators, polishers, janitors, car washers, motorcycle riders and that particular group of employees had no place to go. The Auto Mechanics took some in, not very many, but, some particularly in the truck shops, the greasers or lubricators, but they couldn't take the rest of them in, because the rest of them were predominately black. At that time the Machinists had a color bar. They had a color bar up until the Second World War. During the Second World War, in Oakland and I'm not sure in what other areas, contrary to their international constitution, they broke the color bar and started taking blacks and other minorities. Because the obligation in those days -- you can refer to it as color bar -- was that no one could join except a competent white mechanic or machinist. At one of the conventions during or just after the Second World War, the Machinists eliminated that from their obligation.

So, these people wanted to organize and they went to see the Auto Mechanics, talked to Ernest Vernon, who was then the Business Agent for Auto Mechanics --

Feingold: Frank Jones interviewed him for the Warren project.



Ash: I'll bet he had a job doing it.

Anyway, they went to see Vernon, and Vernon came out to the shop where I was working, and wanted to know if I wanted to try to organize garage employees. I told him I didn't know, I'd think it over, talk it over with my wife. That night, I think it was, or within a day or two, I had a meeting with ten or fifteen of the blacks that worked on Automobile Row. Frankly, they were scared to death to meet.

Feingold: I'll bet they were.

Ash: We met in Berkeley after working hours in the basement of a Baptist Church. And I'll never forget --

Feingold: Was that a Negro Baptist church?

Ash: I guess it was. I don't know. I didn't pay much attention. All I knew was that it was a Baptist church. It was in the black area. I think it was below Shattuck, as I recall. Between Shattuck and Grove Street, I guess it is, the next one down. Anyway, one of them met me on the sidewalk out in front of the place, and it wasn't til we got in the church and went down in the basement that they turned the lights on. They discussed it and decided that they would go ahead with it. The only place that we could get a charter -- or maybe not the only place, but the most convenient place -- was from the Teamsters. They had a garage employees union in San Francisco at the time. I knew their president; I'd worked with him in Oakland, and I went over and talked to him.

Feingold: Who was he?

Ash: Kenneth Flagg, the president of the Garage Employees Union Local 665 over there. I made arrangements to get the charter. Meantime I'd talked it over with my wife, and I don't know just exactly what her words were, but she said that I had been working for the Union for nothing long enough, maybe I ought to go to work for them

Ash: where they'd pay me for doing for them what I had been doing. So I organized or helped organize the Garage Employees Union Local 78. That was in '37.

Feingold: Can you tell me a bit more about this local? Did it have a lot of trouble at first because it was black? Does it still exist, or has it been incorporated into another union?

Ash: I don't recall any trouble with the employers because the members were predominately black, but there was some, at times, with some of the white members -- not really trouble, but an expressed feeling that the blacks were holding up getting better wages. The average wage for these people, black and white, was about sixty dollars a month and they worked from forty-eight to over a hundred hours a week. The first negotiated contract was for a forty-eight hour week with wages of \$4.50 per day for janitors and motorcycle pick up men, and \$5.00 for lubricators, car washers and polishers. As I recall, the problem was more of an attitude that the janitors and pick up men were holding the others down. From the start blacks had a prominant place in the union and held a number of offices.

You might want to check with Reverand Edward Stovall. His church is, I believe, the Faith Babbtist Church in Berkeley. Stovall was the Vice-President of the union for years.

The Garage Employees Union Local 78 is still in existence although it is now called Teamsters Automotive Employees Local 78. William York is the Secretary-Treasurer and their office is out by the Oakland Airport.

III HISTORY OF THE ALAMEDA COUNTY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

Ash: In 1942 I ran for secretary of the Labor Council and was defeated, and ran again the next year and was elected secretary of the Labor Council.

Feingold: That gets us into the subject of the Labor Council, which I also wanted to ask you about. When was the Labor Council itself first formed?

Ash: Sometime in the 1890s.

Feingold: Oh, it was that old? I didn't realize that.

Ash: Yes. At that time it was called the Federated Labor and Trades Council. It had everything; it had railroad unions, service unions, Teamsters, Eugene V. Debs' union, Socialist Party -- in fact I have seen some of their minutes that the Oakland Typographical Union has in their journal -- they printed the minutes of the Council meetings. There were numerous occasions when the president of the Federated Trades Council would adjourn the meeting of the Labor Council and announce that immediately following the Labor Council meeting that the County Central Committee of the American Socialist Party would meet. Apparently they were pretty much one and the same.
[Laughter]

I don't know too much about the old Council; in fact, I know very little about the Council up until I started attending in '34 or '35, except that the secretary of the Council was William Spooner. He was one of the first secretaries; I guess he was the first full-time secretary of the Labor Council. When he retired -- hard to

Ash: tell what year it was. I was elected in '43, and his predecessor, Fred Silverthorn, had the job, I think, for five years or six years. That would have been '37 or '38. So Spooner had gone on the job sometime around 1910 or 1911 as a full-time secretary.

Feingold: And how long did he stay?

Ash: He was secretary for twenty-five years. Then he retired and a milkwagon driver by the name of Fred Silverthorn was elected as secretary. Fred had it for six years, I think it was -- five or six years. And then I ran against him and beat him.

IV PROBLEMS FACING ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE EARLY
1940'S

Feingold: When you took over the Central Labor Council, what were the major problems that it was dealing with?

Ash: Organizing -- that was still much in the process of going on in almost all of the unions. Wages and hours. Very little activity insofar as politics were concerned. Social problems. Most of them were purely and simply bread-and-butter issues for working people in those days.

Feingold: What were the major obstacles to organizing at that time?

Ash: Laws prohibiting it, attitude of industry, attitude of employers. Up until the time of the Wagner Act, of course, there was no protection. During those days, all over California it was illegal to picket -- picket or boycott. They still have the --

Feingold: Primary boycotts, even, were illegal?

Ash: Any kind of a boycott was illegal. In fact when we picketed we had to sell a newspaper. We had the East Bay Labor Journal, and they'd run off a special edition of it, and take some of the stuff off the front page and put a big sign on it saying, "Unfair to organized labor," or "Unfair to Butchers" or Clerks, or somebody else, and you'd walk up and down in front of the store, selling a newspaper -- actually selling it for a buck apiece. Even then a lot of people got arrested for picketing under the ordinances.

Ash: And then just a general fear on the part of men and women afraid to join a union; afraid to talk to anybody -- even the person working next to them, in a lot of instances -- either for or against the union. Afraid to talk about it. I know when I first joined -- I was a lubricator -- the first place I worked in, my rack was right up by the door where they come into the shop from the service floor. The shop superintendent had an office hanging down from the ceiling of this big building, and he could look out all over the shop and look down on the service floor. Three or four very active people there in the Machinists would come over and talk to me. Most of the time, anyway, I was their spy to let them know where the service manager was, if they'd want to work out on some guy, or try to talk somebody into joining the union. Almost every time he'd see me talking to Andy Hayes or a fellow by the name of Costa and a couple of others that were active in the union, the service manager would come down out of his crow's nest and call me over and want to know what they were talking to me about, and tell me that I ought to watch myself, that they were bad men, and not up to any good, and all that.

He didn't know at the time I was a member of the union. He didn't know about it until the '34 General Strike, and then I was on that committee to see that the automobile shops were closed. I walked into C. N. Weaver -- that was the name of the company -- and looked the place over and talked to a couple of the mechanics that were still in there and got them out, and that was, I guess, the first time that they knew I was a member of the Mechanics'. Then when I went back to work after the General Strike was over -- I don't know, it only lasted about ten days -- I got fired.

Feingold: What kind of reputation did Alameda County have at that time, in terms of labor organizing?

Ash: Next to San Francisco, I guess, in California. Pretty close to it, although San Francisco was better organized in a lot of fields and I guess they still are, in the retail field. The retail department stores are better organized than .

Ash:

they are in the East Bay. But it was fairly well-organized. None of the trades were completely organized in the '30s. Some of them moved ahead faster than others. I say none of them -- two unions never lost their identify or their contracts during all of the depression and -- what do they call it -- American Plan days. Those were the Milkwagon Drivers and the Breadwagon Drivers.

I guess the Milkwagon Drivers were one of the few groups of employees in the United States that only took one wage reduction -- salary reduction -- all during the depress. They were forced to take a ten percent reduction, the industry gave them one, and then went on strike, and how long they were out, I don't know, because I wasn't up there then. It went to arbitration and they lost it in arbitration. They received a ten percent cut, it wasn't what the employers had tried to give them. But because the union had put the fight up so hard for it, there was never again an attempt on the part of the milk dealers to reduce the pay of the Milkwagon Drivers all through the depression. Even in those days, there was daylight delivery; in Los Angeles, San Francisco, almost every other place in the country, I guess, it was early morning, during-the-dark deliveries. They never had to carry credit. They could never solicit customers; they couldn't run on the route -- fined on them if they ran on the route.

. They lost membership, but those two unions never lost control of their jobs, but every other union, I guess, that was in existence prior to the depression did. Building trades was way down, Teamsters were down to almost nothing -- that's the truck drivers. Butchers were one of the first to come back and then the Auto Mechanics, Retail Clerks, and then a whole mob of them -- Cooks and what-have-you.

V THE GENERAL STRIKE OF 1934

Feingold: I'd like to ask you something about the General Strike. Was there much trouble in Alameda County?

Ash: In '34?

Feingold: Yes.

Ash: No. The main part of the '34 General Strike was in San Francisco. Oakland -- the Bay Area -- Alameda County was pretty well shut down for five or six days, as I recall. There was some violence down on the waterfront.

Feingold: Was that in Oakland?

Ash: Yes. Down at the foot of Broadway. In fact it was down there where the Jack London Square, the Haslett Warehouse, where Fisherman's Grotto is now, I guess. Right in that area there someplace. [There was] some violence there. The National Guard were there, of course, Unless I'm mistaken, the violence down there was between the Longshoremens and the National Guard, or as the result of them being down there. But it didn't amount to much. There wasn't any need for any violence over on the East Bay side, because the big fight, of course, was on the San Francisco waterfront. There was very little activity here. No one went to work, or very few people tried to go to work; there wasn't anybody on the streets. The streets were clear in Oakland, at least. In fact, we lived down in downtown, and it was pretty dead down there.

- Ash: You'd look down Broadway to the Estuary and see nobody, no cars on the street. The American Legion were active in the General Strike in the East Bay. I wasn't part of it, but my committee from the Council went to Piedmont. There was one store reported open in Piedmont, and they sent the committee up to check it out, to see if the store was open or closed. The American Legion had all of the streets into Piedmont barricaded, and you had to show some kind of identification that you lived there or had business there. That was about it.
- Feingold: Were you aware of any role that Earl Warren played in the General Strike?
- Ash: No. None at all. I even doubt if I knew who the District Attorney was in those days. I didn't know Warren at all until after I became Secretary of the Council.
- Feingold: Yes. By that time he was Governor.
- Ash: But I didn't know him at all.

VI CHARLES REAL AND THE TEAMSTERS

Feingold: One thing Joe Chaudet said to be sure to ask you about was the taxi-cab strike. That Charlie Real --

Ash: I don't know anything about it.

Feingold: You don't?

Ash: I wasn't there.

Feingold: He thought you would, somehow.

Ash: No. All I know is what people have told me, probably Joe was the one who told me. All I can tell you about it is that somebody was killed. I think that a cab was found either in the Estuary or in Lake Merritt -- I don't know. But at least there was one person killed in it, and Real was indicted for the murder and went to trial. Bill Spooner told me one time that Real was going to hire or had hired one of the big criminal lawyers to defend him, and Spooner talked him out of it, and get him to hire somebody out of the Robinson law firm, that I think Warren at one time was part of -- I'm not sure.

Feingold: Right. Warren was part of that firm.

Ash: Anyway, he hired one of the Robinsons, or somebody out of the law firm*. They went in and they were able to get a hung jury. They never took the case back to trial. It was dropped after the hung jury. But I've always had my opinions on it.

*The lawyer hired was O. D. Hamlin, Jr. See the Hamlin interview in the Perspectives on the Alameda County District Attorney's Office volume.

Ash: I think that beginning at that point, Real was in the hip pocket of the Republican party, Paul St. Sure, Earl Warren, and all the rest of them, because Real never supported the recommendations of the state labor movement; if the endorsements were anything other than Republican he'd support the Republican. He would participate, he would not vote against the recommendations or for endorsement, but then would immediately come out and support the opposition. Even bums like Frank Merriam and a few others that were in politics -- I'm not just talking about Warren. But any of those, why Charlie Real was always supporting [them].

I don't know, because I couldn't prove it, but I know that it transpired -- I saw the check -- as far as I know, this had nothing to do with Warren, but I think it just explains what I mean that they had him -- During a strike before I was secretary of the Council, during the late '30s, they had a strike at what was then called Whitthorne and Swan's, now Hales. They had all kinds of support from everybody including the Teamsters Local 70 and Real, and all of a sudden, as it happened during the time when I was Secretary of the Council, you'd have his support for a few days and then it would just break away from you; you'd lose it. All of a sudden they would drop the support and start going through the picket lines, and as a result broke the strike of the clerks down there.

Feingold: This was at Whitthorne and Swan?

Ash: Yes. Down on Clay Street. I guess Hale's is still down there.

Several years after that, when we were in negotiations with Paul St. Sure and some of the retail stores, and the union was threatening to strike, the union secretary or somebody said that they had the support of the Teamsters' Union, and St. Sure said, "That doesn't mean a damn thing, support of the Teamsters and Real in a strike of the Clerks. We've got him, you don't have him." Somebody questioned it, and St. Sure

Ashe: buzzed for his secretary and told his secretary to bring the Real file in. She brought it in and he tossed a check for \$5,000 across the table for us to look at. Someone looked at the date, and said, "That must be Whitthorne and Swan." Paul says, "That's Whitthorne and Swan!" [Laughter] I asked "Well, what was the justification?" St. Sure says, "Well, you recall that Charlie made a fifteen-minute radio broadcast for us for Whitthorne and Swan, saying that it was an illegal strike and all that?" "Yes. We remember." Well," he says, "we didn't pay him to break the strike, we paid him \$5,000 to make a fifteen-minute radio broadcast." [That was] the only time I actually knew that Real took money, but I always suspected that he did, but didn't have any proof of it.

Feingold: Was there any suggestion that he took money during the Oakland General Strike to fly back from Chicago to help settle the strike?

Ash: He didn't fly back from Chicago to help settle the strike. Who, Real?

Feingold: Yes. Joe Chaudet said that, too. That during some strike, anyway, Charlie Real offered to fly to Oakland from Chicago.

Ash: Oh, he may have offered to come back. I don't think so. Real was in the chips at that time. He didn't have to worry about money. In listening in at one time to a telephone conversation -- I don't think that Real had any intentions of coming back to settle it one way or the other. He may have, I don't recall. Joe might be right, but I don't have any recollection of it, at all. Real was on his way to Washington, I think it was -- some kind of a dinner that he was representing the State Feds in in Washington.

Dave Beck was the one that broke that strike, not Charlie Real.

Feingold: Joe Chaudet also said that I should be sure to ask you about the relationship between Real and Paul St. Sure. But I guess you've already covered that.

Ash: Far as I know, that's it -- yes.

Feingold: Were you around when the King, Conner, Ramsay case happened?

Ash: I was around, but I frankly don't know much about it. You could pick up more in the newspaper than I know about it. All I know is there was a big rumpus about it, and the labor movement, including the Alameda County Labor Council, took action criticizing the authorities for convicting them, or bringing them to trial, actually -- that it was a labor dispute and they were not guilty of the murder, but frankly that's all I know about it, because I had more things concerning me, trying to get a union organized than I was about matters like that.

VII OAKLAND GENERAL STRIKE, 1946-47

Feingold: All right. That, then, brings me up to the Oakland General Strike, which I suppose is a long story. We might as well begin by your telling me how you were involved in it.

Ash: Well, I'm involved in it because the Secretary of the Labor Council -- What happened was that the Retail Clerks -- Well, back a little bit: Before I was Secretary of the Council in '38, '37, '39 -- somewhere around in there -- the Retail Clerks -- Department Store Clerks -- organized a large group of people in all of the department stores, just about the same time that they did in San Francisco. They went into negotiations.

At that time clerks were working all kinds of hours. I don't know what they were. They were working forty-eight hours and over. As I recall, their pay was under \$16 a week. They went into negotiations, and this was during the time when the move was on to organize, and everybody -- business and everybody else -- figured organizations were coming and they couldn't buck Franklin Roosevelt, and the laws that he was passing protecting the right to organize, so they negotiated a contract, giving the clerks \$16 a week, a forty-hour week, and giving them a full union shop. The officers took it to a membership meeting, with a recommendation that the members accept it. There was a rebellion on the floor. Particularly the men members of the Clerks that worked in the specialty shops, the shoe stores, the men's clothing stores -- some of them have been organized for years -- opposed it and defeated it and went out on strike. They were out just a short time and then they lost it; they were just completely whipped.

Ash: At that time, St. Sure and the Retail Merchants' Association vowed that they would never sign a union shop contract for the Oakland and Berkeley Retail Merchants' Associations.

Feingold: St. Sure was their attorney?

Ash: Yes. And they formed some kind of a pact that if there were again labor problems, organizing problems or a strike, and one of the member stores was struck, that the rest of the stores would pick up the average losses of the store during the strike. So in '46 the Retail Clerks' Union organized a majority of employees at Kahn's Department Store, now Rhodes; Hastings Men's Store; and one other -- I can't remember the name of the other one. They presented demands for a contract. The answer to the union was that the Retail Merchants' Association was an exclusive bargaining unit, and they would have to bargain with the whole association, with all the association members. . The Clerks and the Labor Council decided that we wouldn't negotiate with the Association -- we'd negotiate for each individual store.

Feingold: Was this a new tactic by employers?

Ash: No. This was an old one. Ever since the original time when they had offered the union the union shop back in the '30s.

Then the Clerks went out on strike against the three stores sometime in November. They were out long enough to where the union treasury was depleted, and the money that the international union was sending into the strike was not sufficient to help the strikers. So they appealed to the Labor Council and the labor movement to raise money for the support of the strikers. We sent an appeal out to the locals asking for contributions -- I think it was a dollar a member -- and asking that if possible under the constitution that the membership have the opportunity of voting on a monthly assessment to support the strike. That was coming pretty slow, and the people were not getting enough to maintain themselves, so we decided that we

Ash: would call a mass meeting to try to get some enthusiasm for the Clerks' strike, to get some money for them, which, incidentally, we did. We called the meeting for December 2, 1946. No ideas at all on anybody's part, as far as I know, that there would be a General Strike.

It just happened that the meeting, which had been scheduled for several weeks, fell on the first day of the General Strike. What caused the General Strike was that the Teamsters' Union Local 70, and Charlie Real, was supporting the Clerks. They were not delivering merchandise to any of these three stores. Now, this is just before Christmas, and these stores don't warehouse in their own stores all of their Christmas goods, so they needed them. Sometime around the first of December or last of November, the Chief of Police, Bob Tracy, got ahold of me and told me he wanted to talk to me.

He told me that he had been in a meeting in the District Attorney's office, and at that meeting were Paul St. Sure, the President of Kahn's, John Riley, Orton Lucas, the manager of Hale's, Sherwood Swan, the manager and owner of the Tenth Street Market, the manager of Capwell's -- I can't remember his name right now but I can look it up, I've got a list in there -- Joe Knowland of the Tribune, Ingraham of the Post-Enquirer, Frank Belgrano of the Oakland Bank, later President of the Bank of America, the head of the United Employers in Oakland, and there were several others. I just off-hand can't remember their names or their titles.

At that meeting, in discussing the situation and the need to get merchandise, somebody in the Merchants' announced that they were going to hire an outfit in Los Angeles called the G.I. Trucking Company -- at times it's been called the Veterans' Trucking Company, but I think their accurate title was the G. I. Trucking Company. It was a strikebreaking trucking company in Los Angeles.

Feingold: It's curious that the name would be linked with the Armed Services.

Ash: The men were just coming back from the war, and I guess they felt it would be a good name, I don't know.

There had been trouble in L.A. One big strike against one of the large national printing firms that published Life and Time magazines for the Western area -- pickets had been shot at, and shot and run over with automobiles, and we knew that the truck drivers in the company were armed. So when he was told what they were going to do -- at that meeting Tracy got his orders from the District Attorney or St. Sure that he was to use the police force, all of the police force if necessary, to break the strike, to bring the trucks in. Tracy told me about it, and said he wanted me warned.

There was a regional meeting going on over at Teamsters' Local 70 Hall in which three of the international representatives were in attendance, a fellow by the name of Bill Conboy, Einar Mohn, as I recall, and George Mock. I asked if I could come in and talk to them about the problem. They let me in and I told them that I had just heard that the three stores and the Merchants' Association were going to bring the G.I. Trucking Company in to break the strike, and that it would be my recommendation to the Council to do everything they could to support the strike and the strikers, and to keep the non-union, scab trucking company from making their deliveries. George Mock, International Rep of the Teamsters, the one who did most of the talking, assured me, and told me to tell the Council, that they'd been waiting for an opportunity for years to get into a good fight with the G. I. Trucking Company, and they'd support us all the way.

I went back and told the Council that. Then I had two or three other meetings with Tracy, the Chief of Police, on the matter, and finally we got it down to an agreement that he would let me know in advance of when the deliveries were going to be made. We also had an agreement that because these people -- at least I had been

Ash: told and Tracy had been told -- went armed, that they would be shaken down. The agreement was that in order for the labor movement to have proof that they had been shaken down for arms and weapons that somebody from the Labor Council would be permitted to go with the officers -- the policemen -- when they met the caravan. It was left that way. He told me then, a couple of days later, when the deliveries were going to be made -- they were going to be made on a Sunday morning -- and that he was making arrangements for someone to go, and that he wanted to know who I was going to send. I said I hadn't made my mind up yet. He said, "It'll be much easier if you go; it's easier getting clearance." I said, "I'll go."

I also had an understanding with Tracy about parking and use of the streets after midnight on Saturday. We were told by Tracy and by the acting City Attorney that after midnight Saturday all restrictive parking in downtown Oakland was ineffective, except red zones -- fire plugs -- until sometime Monday morning -- five or six o'clock, whatever it was. And [when I asked] the two of them the question if we could take cars down after midnight and park them bumper to bumper around where Kahn's was, and Hastings, and the other store, and not be in violation of the law and would not have the cars hauled away or ticketed, the answer was yes. So we made arrangements to do just that.

Feingold: That's a good tactic.

Ash: We got on the phone Friday afternoon, after we knew they were coming in, and notified as many unions as we could get ahold of, asking them to have their officers help maintain a picket line around the stores all Saturday night, because we didn't know what time, then, they were coming in.

I got down to the picket line around the store sometime around five o'clock, and I was there until a little after dark. We had a special

Ash: Board meeting to discuss the matter.

During the course of it, and making preparations, and not knowing where the trucks were coming from and when they'd be there, we decided it might be a good idea if we could get an advance notice. So we phoned labor councils and Teamsters' Unions from Santa Maria and Bakersfield all the way up all the highways, told them what was going on and asking if they would watch for these trucks and let us know when they passed through their areas.

Sometime around midnight we were still trying to make up our minds what we were going to do, waiting for a call from Tracy when they were going to make deliveries, and it suddenly dawned on me that we had missed one area, and that was Pacheco Pass, coming into Gilroy from 33.

Well, I grabbed John Sweeney, A.F. of L. Representative, and got my car and we drove down to Gilroy, and found down there that the Teamsters had thought of it themselves. They had somebody there, so we came back. When I got back on the picket there were five or six hundred people on the street and cars were bumper to bumper around the stores. I got back on the picket line about three in the morning, and somebody yelled at me, "Tracy was just over here. He wants to see you." So I went across the street to City Hall and into Tracy's office, and Tracy said they were going to pick the trucks up around five o'clock, and arrangements had been made for me to go, but he didn't know who I was to ride with. He picked up the telephone and told whoever he talked to that I was waiting and who was I to ride with, and he set and listened for three or four minutes and hung up the telephone, and he said, "I'm sorry. The orders have been changed on me. You, or no one else from the labor movement, can go along."

Feingold: Did Tracy double cross you, or do you think he was really telling the truth?

Ash: I'm sure he was telling the truth because of his

Ash: reaction to the phone call and by his actions during the next two days.

Feingold: Well, continue with the story.

Ash: Meantime I could hear the tromping of feet outside of Tracy's office, so I said goodbye, and as I started out the door, I never saw so many cops in all my life. I'll never forget one guy. He had his billyclub and was hitting his hand with it, and he was saying, "I've been waiting for years to use this on one of those S.O.B. union guys." So I went back to the picket line and when I got there, they had -- just in this short time -- probably no more than half an hour -- moved almost all the cars; they'd called in tow trucks from all over, and they'd moved almost all the cars. They had literally swept our people off the streets; they had just formed ranks four deep of cops and they just, moved!

We hung around, then, until they brought the trucks in and of course when they barricaded the streets, they barricaded all of Broadway, all of Telegraph Avenue, and all of San Pablo Avenue, between Sixteenth and Fourteenth Streets. So there were no streetcars or buses running on Broadway, Telegraph, or San Pablo Avenue, and the buses and the streetcar drivers were just going to work. They had streetcars and buses up to the cops' barricade at Twelfth Street, and from Sixteenth Street north, stacked up.

One incident, there was an elderly lady coming up Broadway, she got to the police line and the cops wouldn't let her through. She argued with them and said she was going to church, going up to St. Francis de Salle, and the cop says, "Sorry, lady, if you want to go to church that bad, you just walk down a couple of blocks and you can get there." They really had it barricaded.

Oh, in the meantime, I had contacted Harry Lundberg, secretary, Sailors Union of the Pacific, and I had told Harry that we needed some help,

Ash: and he wanted to know what kind. I said, I wanted some guys that will follow orders, I didn't want anything blowing up, that I needed some help. He said, "Okay," and instead of sending them over, he brought them over.

Feingold: About how many people?_____

Ash: He had about ten or twelve -- not very many.

Three or four of us contacted all the officers of unions we could spot on the picket line and told them to take off and go up to the labor temple -- we wanted to have a meeting and plan some action. So they showed up, and among those that showed up was the President of the Teamsters' Union Local 70, Jim Marshall. You might talk to him, you want to be careful what he tells you, but you must talk to him. He had a very active and important part, not only in the General Strike, but the strike of the Clerks for a few weeks after the General Strike was over. Real was not in town -- Real had left that day by train to go back East to Washington or New York for a meeting.

We were discussing what was going on, and Marshall got up and he made a fourth of July speech that he had talked to Brother Real and that Brother Real and the International Union said that anybody that would use the G.I. Trucking Company to break strikes and to take jobs away from the Teamsters were taking on the Teamsters and that the Teamsters were going to fight back. And he then told us that the next morning, Monday, that there would be no truck drivers working in Alameda County. And if the rest of us were not chicken, then we wouldn't work either. We prevailed on Marshall to hold up, for a day, anyway. We wanted to get all the union executive boards into a meeting.

We broke the meeting up, and sent wires to all of the unions we could get ahold of, affiliated or not but not the former CIO unions, they were not brought into it at all, for Monday morning.

Feingold: Why didn't you include the CIO unions?

Ash: We knew we were going to have enough problems fighting with Beck and Tobin and Bill Green and others, just with a big squabble like this, especially if we were going to call any kind of a general stoppage of work, without making it worse by even thinking about discussing anything with the CIO.

So we called the meeting, and at that meeting by almost a unanimous vote -- only one union's officers voted against it, and that was the Milkwagon Drivers, and that was because of delivery of milk to hospitals, and we let them work, so long as they at least tried to control the delivery -- that it wasn't to be deliveries of milk to stores and restaurants -- that they would be selective. It then was a unanimous vote to shut the town down. We went on the radio that Monday morning to inform our members that Tuesday we were shutting the town down and the reasons for it. We called it a work holiday, and explained why.

On this occasion, as opposed to the programming or strategy of the '34 General Strike in San Francisco and in Oakland, instead of telling people to stay home or go fishing, we asked them to come downtown. We got them downtown. We had anywhere from ten to 30,000 people packed right into that area. The smallest crowd would be at midnight down there. I'm sure it was 10,000, because you couldn't drive through even with a smaller crowd down there. Then we discussed whether we were going to call the meeting off that we had scheduled for the Clerks. We decided to go ahead with it and see what happened.

I'll get back to the streetcar men now. I suppose that the General Strike actually started that Sunday morning, because after they had taken us all off the street and they had made their first deliveries into the store, and then we took the executive board members off the street of all the unions, why then it left a pretty scant bunch there.

Somebody in the police department told the

Ash: bus drivers and streetcarmen that they could
 start going, and the bus drivers, I never did
 find out who it was, told the police that the
 carmen had never crossed a picket line, and so
 long as that cop picket line was across the
 street, they were not going to take the streetcars
 or the buses through. That lasted for three or
 four hours, and finally they were prevailed upon
 to take the streetcars and buses back to the barn
 and leave them there.

Anyway, we went ahead with the meeting in
 the Auditorium. We had met almost all that day
 with a committee from -- supposedly a citizens'
 committee appointed by the new city manager.
 At the time all this was going on, with bringing
the scab trucks in and the use of the copy and
everything, Oakland did not have a head of
 government. The city manager had died and they
 had not appointed a new one. On the first day
 of the General Strike the city council appointed
 Jack Hassler.

This citizens' committee was composed of
 virtually the same people that had met with the
 District Attorney, with a couple of additions.
 During the first meeting we had with this
 committee to try to resolve the differences --
 we were not striking for the Retail Clerks, we
 were not striking Kahn's or Hasting's or the
 other store, we were actually striking the City
 of Oakland. During the course of the first
 meeting with this citizens' committee, of which
 Joe Knowland was a member, Hassler or someone
 asked that maybe both sides would clarify the
issues. We started talking about the issue of
 the city, and Hassler, or whoever it was that
 was running the meeting that day, said, "No,"
 he didn't mean that, the issues with the three
 stores.

John Philpot, the secretary of the Clerks
 at that time, started in, and he got as far as
 saying that the Clerks' Union had more than half
 of the Clerks -- in fact he named the number of
 members they had as opposed to the number of
 employees that Kahn's had, and the same thing

Ash: with the other two stores. Old Man Knowland says, "Now wait a minute. Your union, Mr. Philpot, represents the majority of the employees in these three stores?" Philpot says, "Yes, and I can prove it." Mr. Knowland says, "Well, I don't know what it's all about. Anybody -- any union that comes into the newspaper and tells me that they represented the majority of the employees in any department and they could prove it, I'm going to negotiate a contract with them." St. Sure called a recess, real fast. [Laughter] They were gone for awhile, and Joe Knowland never came back to the meeting, any of the meetings that we held for two days. He just didn't show up, any more. I don't know whether they threw him out --

Feingold: Persona non grata!

Ash: Yes. But anyway, we had the meeting at the auditorium that night and there were no streetcars or buses running. It rained -- man, how it rained that night. And if it hadn't been for the General Strike, maybe we would have expected 1,000 people down there. Then with the weather and the lack of transportation, we didn't think we were going to have too many anyway. But by the time I got down there and got into the auditorium, the auditorium arena was packed. Before the meeting started, the manager of the auditorium came up on the platform and told me that we should make arrangements for a public address system outside. When asked why, he told me that the arena was packed -- there were at least 8,000 people in the auditorium and another twelve to thirteen thousand standing out in the rain. So we got the sound man to move his sound truck to the front of the auditorium and hook it up. The meeting lasted for about two hours. Almost everybody talked that was connected with it. I was the last speaker, and the speaker ahead of me was Harry Lundberg. Lundberg didn't speak long except to say that the Sailors' Union was behind the Clerks in their fight against the finks and the cops and that the Sailors would help with it even if they had to run ships all the way up Broadway from the Estuary. All I

Ash: would have had to say with the way that crowd reacted to Lundberg, was just "Let's knock the baloney off -- let's go down and take the City Hall apart," and I don't think that we'd have lost a thousand people. I think they'd have taken that City Hall apart, brick by brick.

At any rate, we went into the second day, and we got into action negotiations then, not just on the beef with the city, but the problems with the two department stores. I think that it was well on the way to settlement. There's no way, of course, of knowing until proposals are made, but everybody had stopped arguing with one another and fighting with one another, and they were down to where they were negotiating for a settlement.

In the meantime, Einar Mohn, the International Rep of the Teamsters', now vice-president of the Teamsters' International, came to town, and we put him on the strike committee. Somebody came into the meeting from the City Manager's office and ~~said~~ that Mohn was wanted on the telephone. This was late in the day, seven o'clock or something like that. He went out and came back in real fast and motioned to me, and wanted me to come out. So I went out, and he said he had been talking to Beck and that he didn't like Beck's attitude, but Beck was going to call back in five minutes, and he wanted me to hang around.

In the meantime there was nothing moving in Oakland, particularly, and in almost all of Alameda County. All trucks were stopped at the county line, and if they were headed for San Francisco, or if they were headed for San Jose, Santa Clara County, or Marin County, they were given a pass through or told to go ahead. Not even newspapers were delivered to Alameda County. The Oakland Tribune was shut down tight; we stopped newspapers from coming over from San Francisco. The only newspaper that hit the street for about five minutes, the PW smuggled about twenty-five or thirty newspapers on the morning of the second day until we could run them down and get rid of those too. There was no reason for the Labor Journal to go down, but it went down, too.

Ash: The phone rang again, and Mohn picked it up. He motioned to me to take the other phone, and I went over and picked the phone up. Beck was on the line. Now mind you, we had been out of the meeting no more than five minutes, and no newspapers in town, and we had been negotiating possible settlement. Beck was telling Mohn that he had to order the Teamsters to put their people back to work, immediately right now. Mohn told Beck that the strike was well on its way to being settled, and asked for an hour -- two hours -- thirty minutes, any delay in the order to work so as not to embarrass them. Beck said, "Okay."

We returned to the Mayor's office and the members of the management were sitting there holding up a copy of a Frisco newspaper, with Beck's picture, with a telephone in the hand, saying, "Beck ordered the Teamsters to go back to work." Well, the meeting blew, of course, right then.

Feingold: How did that all happen?

Ash: I don't know. I never did find that out -- how they got the papers. But Beck had no intention -- when he told Mohn that he was going to hold it up, he'd already given the order; he didn't even tell Mohn that he had issued the order.

Feingold: Why was Beck opposed to the strike?

Ash: Oh, I don't know. Who knows, who knows. -- money. To be the Czar, to be the friend of the bosses -- I really don't know. Maybe some psychiatrist up at McNeill Island was able to find out what makes Beck go.

But anyway, of course, the meeting broke up. We went back to the labor temple and we knew -- that is the officers of the Council and almost all of the executive board members -- that the shut down couldn't last more than two days, because it was the working people that were going to suffer. It wasn't going to be the rich or the well-to-do or the bosses, because, you know, they didn't have any problem with gasoline or cars. They could go to San Francisco without any problem to pick up food. So they knew it had

Ash: to be settled in two days.

We started working on it. Sometime during that day or the day before, Tracy got ahold of me again through one of the sergeants and said that he wanted to talk to me. I told them I'd go down to Tracy's office. I was told I couldn't meet there but to suggest some other place. I told them that I hadn't been home for a couple of days, I hadn't had a bath, I hadn't shaved, and was hungry, that I would meet them there.

So, I drove out home and they met me out there, and they told me that Tracy, the Chief of Police, and the Fire Chief had just been issued orders by the City Manager, Hassler, to get the high-pressure hoses out and take us off the street, and that Tracy had refused to obey the order. [He] had told Hassler that if that was an order for Hassler to put it in writing, and that if Hassler gave him the order in writing that he would do it, but he wasn't going to be responsible for what would happen. Tracy said he told Hassler he wasn't going to be responsible for the bloodshed. So Hassler told him he was going to get it, but Hassler never sent the order down.

At the same time, I was told criminal indictments for sixteen of us had been issued by the District Attorney for conspiracy to do something -- I don't remember. [Laughter] Riots, or maybe rebellion. We started working to try to settle it with the City. Sometime around three o'clock in the morning, that would be Thursday morning, the third of December, I guess, we arrived at a strike settlement agreement with Hassler in which Hassler stated that the City of Oakland would never use the Oakland Police Department for the purpose of breaking a strike. Then we went on the radio again and started telling our people to show up for work.

A side light to it. Really the question was never settled. We called a meeting of all the unions and executive boards, and put the proposal to them. I read the proposal to go back to work

Ash: and the agreement that Hassler had agreed to, and I made the motion to accept it -- the recommendation that people be instructed to go back to work -- and the motion was seconded, the motion passed. According to the chairman of the strike committee, and the President of the Council, Al Brown, it was really never passed; there were more No votes than there were Aye votes. But nobody asked for a standing vote or a roll-call.

Anyway, the side light to it is months later we heard that if we had kept the pressure on for one more day, that all of the city council, the chief of police, the fire chief, the city attorney and the whole schmeer in City Hall would have resigned the next day. They would have quit. Now whether that's true, or not, I don't know. [Laughter] But it would have been interesting to have found out what would have happened.

Now in all the process, one other thing I've forgotten -- I'm talking too much about the General Strike and the Council, but in the whole thing Warren entered into the picture once. At one of the meetings we were having with the employers, the so-called citizens' committee, a statement was made by someone that Warren was going to order the National Guard in. I went out and hit the telephone and phoned Sacramento. Warren was not in the state -- Warren was in Miami at a governors' conference. I phoned Miami and I finally got Warren on the phone, and I asked him. I told him what I had heard, and I wanted to know if it was true.

Feingold: You knew him, by this time?

Ash: Yes. Warren said that it was absolutely false, and he would under no circumstances interfere either one way or the other in the situation in Alameda County. He wasn't available to negotiate, arbitrate, mediate or anything else, and least of all was he going to send the National Guard in. So that was that.

Ash: And the other side light to it: George Meany, then secretary of the A.F. of L. was in San Francisco to make arrangements for a convention of the A.F. of L. in San Francisco that fall. The news hawks got ahold of Meany and wanted to know if he was going to do anything about that situation in Oakland. Meany's answer was, "They got themselves in a mess, they can get themselves out." [Laughter]

Feingold: Did the former C.I.O. unions not play much of a role?

Ash: No. Not in the General Strike.

Feingold: What was the ultimate outcome of the strike?

Ash: An agreement that the City of Oakland would not in the future use cops to break strikes.

Following up just briefly with Kahn's Department Store, the Clerks had to sign a bum agreement. They finally had to wipe the strike out because they couldn't hold their people out -- they were out for eleven months, but they lost the strike. Two years later they started reorganizing again and got to where they were conducting a pretty good campaign of getting people signed as new members.

An electrical contractor in Oakland got ahold of me and wanted to talk to me, so I went down and had a meeting with him. He wanted to talk about the department store -- Kahn's -- and wanted to know if I would meet with the president of the company, and I said, "Yes." He said he'd let me know, and he called back and told me that the meeting was arranged. I asked where would I meet him -- go down to his office? And he said, "Oh, no. Mr. Riley doesn't want to even be seen in Oakland with you. He'll meet you out on San Pablo Avenue." I don't remember where it was. He says, "He'll be driving a black Cadillac." [Laughter] So I go out there -- I show up. He drives out there and picks me up. We go out to Contra Costa County, have lunch and then spend the rest of the day out there in a restaurant discussing the situation.

Ash: Riley told me about this arrangement whereby the rest of the merchants would pay for losses in the event of a strike, and he said they didn't come through with it. He said that he wasn't going to be the guinea pig for the Merchants' Association again, and he knew the union had a majority or close to a majority of employees, and that he wanted to negotiate with them. I asked him, "When, tomorrow or now?" He told me that since separate negotiation was against the policy of the Merchants' Association, he wanted a day or two to let the Merchants' Association know that he was resigning, and why he was resigning, and didn't want to get thrown out.

And so he did. He did negotiate with the union, and they arrived at what was essentially a union shop contract with Kahn's. Hastings fell soon after that.

VIII OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL ELECTION, 1947

Feingold: Wasn't there an Oakland City Council election the following year, in 1947, that you were involved in?

Ash: Yes. We elected four unknowns. We just decided that we were going to support anybody, and we didn't do any work to amount to anything to try to find candidates to run. We glommed on to the five that ran, and the only one, of course, with any administrative ability was Joe Smith, a lawyer. The others were a railroad engineer by the name of Ray Pease; a radio broadcaster, Scott Weakley; a chemist that worked for Shell Development, name of Vernon Lantz; and an insurance salesman or broker name of Goldfarb. Goldfarb was the only one that lost the election, and I think if his name had been Smith or Pease or Jones, I think probably he would have won too. [Laughter]

A lot of people in the labor movement attempted -- or maybe they still attempt -- to take an awful lot of credit for winning that election, and I don't think so. I don't think it's possible to win an election with such uncolorful -- and you can't use the word incompetent -- people, with a lack of knowledge of government. With the possible exception of Joe Smith and the radio announcer, Scott Weakley, they didn't make a good appearance, they really couldn't talk. What happened was that the majority of the people in the City of Oakland were disgusted with the city council, with City Hall. Four months after the General Strike, at the opening of the baseball

Ash: season in Oakland they had the Oakland motorcycle drill team lead the dignitaries into the ball park. They were not all trade unionists in that ball park, but I never heard anybody get booed so loudly and hard as those cops did that day.

So, as I say, it wasn't because we had exceptional candidates, or much money to spend, but we just took advantage of what we hoped and thought was true, that the people of Oakland were just disgusted with the bunch of incompetent boobs that were sitting in the City Hall. Then our candidates fell out and started fighting one another. They couldn't get along.

Feingold: Was there a sort of labor committee that was active in that election?

Ash: Yes. There was a labor committee, composed of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. members.

Feingold: What was that called? Do you remember?

Ash: No, I don't remember.

Feingold: Well, it's not terribly important.

Ash: I can't remember what it was called. I can remember some of the people from the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. that were active in it, and headed it up.

Feingold: Who were they?

Ash: Paul and Ruby Heide; Paul was with the ILWU, and Ruby was his wife. She had some office in the C.I.O. Council, too, but I don't remember just what it was. Jim Smith of the Steelworkers; Olie Fagerhaugh; Kathleen Griffin; those were the mainstays from the C.I.O. Then in the old A.F. of L. was Jack Reynolds of the Building Trades, John Peraguy of the Laborers [Union], Ernie Vernon of the Auto Mechanics, myself -- that's about the extent that I can remember now.

IX EXPELLED FROM THE TEAMSTERS

Feingold: Was it because of your activities in this election that you lost your Teamster card?

Ash: Yes. That was over the politics. I was told to withdraw from the campaign, and I didn't withdraw.

Feingold: Why did they want you to withdraw?

Ash: They said I was associating myself with Commies and with the C.I.O. I got orders from Green to do it, at Beck's insistence. I guess it was Beck's insistence -- I don't know, but I have a hunch it was. Just to get out of it, and we refused to get out of it. They just handed me my withdrawal card one night about 5:00 p.m. before a Labor Council meeting. They figured that I was dead, because I had to have a membership -- I had to be a delegate. They didn't know I also had a Clerk's card.

Feingold: Oh, you already had a Clerk's card?

Ash: Yes. Not very long before that though. [Laughter] I could see it coming. I couldn't use a Machinists' card, because the Machinists were not in the A.F. of L. at the time. They had withdrawn in some argument with Green, so I had to get a Clerk's card. I got ahold of the secretary of the union, Charlie Omstead, and told him what I needed. I knew it was coming and I joined the Clerks.

[The following note was added by Mr. Ash when he edited the manuscript:]

Ash: I have been in the habit of stretching the truth with regard to my membership in the Clerks, and I just keep it up. The Clerks at that time, at least, couldn't take into membership anyone who was not working in their jurisdiction. In order to protect officers of the local union and of the International union, I've had to stick to the story as I told you. The top International union officers have resigned and the local union officials responsible are gone as well. The following is what actually happened.

Knowing that I had to be a delegate to the Labor Council from an affiliated union, I had to work fast. I was a member of the Auto Machinists 1546, but their International union, the I.A.M., was out of the A.F. of L. I started calling various unions in an attempt to find one to join and be named a delegate before the Council meeting. Almost everyone had gone home. A few said that they couldn't take me in and a couple said they wouldn't even if they could.

I finally ran down Charles Omstead, secretary of Retail Food Clerks 870, who wanted to know if I would meet the executive board of the union at 7:00 p.m. I did, paid my initiation fee, a month's dues, and was sworn in as a member of local 870. One of the delegates to the Council resigned. The 870 executive board appointed me a delegate.

[The interview resumes.]

Ash: At the Council meeting that night I read a letter from the Garage Employees Union withdrawing me as a delegate, dropped that one and read the other one real fast from the Retail Food Clerks Union 870 appointing me as a delegate, and it was all over. They couldn't do anything. [Laughter]

Then a week or so later they pulled all of the Teamsters out of the Council. I don't know just how soon it was, but it wasn't very long afterwards.

Ash: But the irony of it all is that the same people that Beck and Tobin and Green were accusing of being Communists and us associating with -- Harry Bridges and Paul Heide and Dick Linden -- Beck and Jimmy Hoffa made an accomodation with on a warehousing and negotiating deal.

You know what finally caught up with Real?

Feingold: What?

Ash: He was thrown out of the Teamsters Union when his manipulations of the members' money was even too much for Beck, I guess. They finally threw him out.

Feingold: Did the A.F. of L. at that point in that election threaten to withdraw the charter of the Central Labor Council -- that's something that someone told me.

X SAFEWAY STRIKE

Ash: Yes. But they did in the Safeway strike.

Feingold: What were the highlights of the Safeway strike?

Ash: As I recall, it lasted about nine months, and it was for a contract. The Association was trying to eliminate from the union contract the so-called store managers, which was the only issue, actually -- they could have settled the rest of it. They went out on strike, and then the Teamsters decided that they were going to man the stores, or try to man the stores. They set one union officer up -- a fellow by the name of Fred Irvin, of the Retail Delivery Drivers -- as the coordinator to take over the stores for the Teamsters, and, poor guy, we drove him crazy. We put him in Siberia. We wouldn't talk to him, wouldn't speak to him; we knew it would get him, because he always liked somebody to talk to him, and say hello to him, and we'd pass him in the hall and not even recognize him, and finally he left the building.

 I don't know what Beck did to get to Green, but we got orders from Green -- a big long wire -- telling us to cease and desist, that a Labor Councilman had no right to interfere in jurisdictional disputes. The A.F. of L. convention was going on in Minneapolis-St. Paul at the time, and I flew back to Minneapolis with an officer of the union to talk to Green and whoever else we could talk to about it. There wasn't anybody observing our picket lines, the Butchers were not,

Ash: Teamsters were not, Milkwagon Drivers -- none of the locals -- they were all working or trying to work.

I went back to meet with Green. Jim Suffrage who was then the President of the Clerks and I met with Green. I just asked Green a simple question. I said, "What is the obligation of a Labor Council with regard to a local union that's on strike?" Green said, "If the local union has sanction of their International Union for a strike, the obligation of the Council is to support the local union." I turned to Suffrage, and I said, "Jim, does 870 have authorization of Retail Clerks' International Association for a strike?" He said, "Yes." I looked at Green, and Green says, "Nothing I can do. That's your obligation." I says, "Okay. Goodbye, Bill." And I flew home.

I got home and there was another wire waiting for me from Green. This one was not from St. Paul, but from Chicago. I knew that Green was still in St. Paul-Minneapolis, because when we left the convention still had another day to run, it was still in session. So I ignored the wire. Then I got another wire, so I just folded copies of the two wires up and put them in an envelope and airmailed them with just a short letter to tell President Green that I couldn't understand the wires. I reminded him of what he had told me, and [if he had] any other orders, let me know. I never heard from him. I'm sure that Beck had the telegrams sent from Chicago.

Of course the Clerks lost the managers at Safeway in the settlement. They went to court on it, the Safeway lawyers took this to court. The court ruled for all the stores, but none of the other stores in Alameda County ever attempted to get the managers out of the contract -- only Safeway. That was when Dan Tobin was still alive, and still President of the Teamsters.

In the meantime we were calling Beck and Tobin finks and rats, and Tobin protested to Green, and Green assigned Dan Flanagan, the

Ash: Western Regional Director to investigate it. Flanagan came over and talked to our executive board, went down to talk to Beck at San Jose where there was some kind of a Teamster meeting going on, and Beck ignored him and wouldn't talk to him. I don't remember what kind of a report Flanagan made, but it must have been favorable, because it was dropped. There wasn't anything ever said about it. That was the nearest we ever came to losing the charter.

XI THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL'S ROLE IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Feingold: I'd like to switch gears a bit, and talk some about the Central Labor Council's roles in the various elections, starting, I guess, in 1942, when Warren ran against Olson for governor?

Ash: They supported Olson, of course, in that election. When Bob Kenny ran against Warren, the labor movement supported Warren. When James Roosevelt ran against him, we supported Roosevelt. That was more Neil Haggerty's doings than it was anybody else's, because at that time Roosevelt was supposedly mixed up -- and I think he was -- with trying to get Eisenhower to run for President against Truman -- or in Truman's place, whichever way it worked out. We were not too favorable to Roosevelt, even in Alameda County. We thought that was too much.

Feingold: Why weren't you too favorable to him?

Ash: Oh, because of his trying to dump Harry Truman and practically for no other reason. Warren signed a couple of bills that year, and particularly the one on jurisdictional disputes, or didn't sign, but let it become law without his signature, stating that he thought it was unconstitutional. Haggerty, in his Newsletter, had an awful blast against Warren -- that Warren didn't deserve the support of the labor movement. This was at the time of the State Federation convention in Sacramento -- they had the Newsletter -- and when Warren showed up, I never heard anybody



Left to right: Joe Roberts - Shipfitters Union, San Francisco; Earl Warren, Governor; Thomas Roberts, Sanitary Engineers 39, Oakland; Robert Ash, Central Labor Council, Secretary, Oakland.



Robert Ash on the left of Edmund Brown, Attorney General, during Brown's campaign for Governor, 1958.

Ash: booed and yelled at so much in a labor convention as Warren was that year. Warren just couldn't get the endorsement.

In political activities the Building Trades did not work with the Labor Council a number of times. The Alameda County Labor Council opposed quite frequently the endorsements of the state labor movement and campaigned for candidates not endorsed by the State Federation.

We supported a campaign for Dick Graves for governor -- I don't know who would have been worse, Knight or Graves, but that's the way it worked out. Haggerty got me into that one. I called him and told him I was invited to a meeting in Berkeley, to meet some guy by the name of Graves who was going to run for governor, who wanted to run for governor. I wanted to know if he knew him, and he told me he did and that Graves was not a bad guy. Haggerty talked about who Graves represented -- the California League of Cities -- and he asked me if I was going to the meeting. I told him I didn't know. Haggerty suggested I go and hear what Graves had to say. Haggerty also told me we couldn't support Knight. So I went to the meeting. Haggerty told me he was going to L.A. -- and to call him there, and gave me a phone number to reach him. So I called Neil in Los Angeles and told him what I thought of Graves, and what Graves had said that night at this meeting, and Neil said, "Good." Again he told me that the labor movement couldn't support Goody Knight. I started working for Graves. I'd never seen him, so far as I know, before that.

Feingold: What year was this, now?

Ash: I don't know. The election before Brown was elected governor. Four years before that.*

On every occasion that Brown ran for state office we supported him, and except for the time -- well, until he ran for governor the State Federation had not endorse him -- nor the state

*For further information on the 1954 Graves-Knight campaign, see the Richard Graves interview in the Earl Warren series.

Ash: We never lost, in Alameda County, an endorsed statewide candidate. When Brown was elected governor a fellow by the name of Lopez ran for secretary of state. He got beat. Nobody knew him. But he carried Alameda County. Ed Royball -- when he ran from L.A. for a statewide office, one of the few counties in the state that Royball carried [was Alameda]. And even with our opposition to the State Federation, if we endorsed somebody, they managed to carry Alameda County -- a small vote, some of the time, but they carried it.

Feingold: I wanted to ask you about that election when Truman ran in '48. I was told that you played quite a role in Alameda County in that.

Ash: I don't know. I campaigned like the devil, that's all I know. [Laughter] I was on the Northern California Committee for Truman. I liked the guy; I still like him. I don't know, how do you measure what you do in a campaign, except work?

Feingold: Did the local Democratic Party do much, or was it mostly the labor movement that was working for him?

Ash: We did the hard work, pounding the streets, ringing doorbells, mailing, getting literature out, registration.

Feingold: Joe Chaudet said that you finally rented him a hall to speak in, that the Democratic Party wouldn't even rent him a hall.

Ash: Oh, no. [Laughter] They had Harry -- the President -- come to Oakland to speak. Dewey was coming to town, too, within a short period of time after Truman. The Republicans had made arrangements to have Dewey speak at Lakeside Park, here at Lake Merritt. The Democrats had arranged for the Auditorium. I blew my top. Hell, we knew as many people -- I said why didn't they take Lakeside Park ahead of Dewey. The Democrats said we couldn't get very many people out. I told them the hell they couldn't,

Ash: that they could get at least as many people out as Dewey would attract. So I finally convinced them to take President Truman in the Park instead of the Auditorium. He had the people there by the thousands. I also went to hear Dewey, what he had to say.

Joe Chaudet got mixed up on that. The fight that we had there for auditoriums was when Paul Robeson came to town, and they refused -- the City of Oakland refused -- to let him have the Auditorium. We appeared down there and protested that, and the school department refused, Berkeley refused. Finally we convinced the Berkeley school department to let him use the school auditorium to talk -- not sing. Or maybe it was singing, too, I don't know. Anyway, that caused a big stir in political and official circles.

Feingold: About when was that? Was that in the '50s?

Ash: I think so.

At almost the same time, we made the other side of the political spectrum mad at us. The real Lefties were pleased that we supported Robeson's being able to talk, but then when Gerald [L. K.] Smith came to town and he was having trouble getting a place to meet because of the big riot down in L.A. the week before, we went to the City Council and fought with the City Council to let Smith have his rights to be heard.

Feingold: You were real civil libertarians.

Ash: What's good for one is good for the other.

Feingold: Right.

Ash: We supported the right of the Vietnam paraders, the first and the second one. They got permission through the courts to go through Oakland, we appeared before the City Council (Oakland) supporting their request for a parade permit. It wasn't easy, at times.

Feingold: I'm sure it wasn't.

Ash: Even your own best friend thought you had gone crazy.

Feingold: I'm sure that's happened to you more than once.

XII REFLECTIONS ON EARL WARREN

Feingold: Speaking of civil liberties, what has been your reaction to Earl Warren as Chief Justice?

Ash: I think that Warren was a much better Supreme Court Justice than district attorney or governor. As far as I'm concerned, I think Warren was one of the best Chief Justices we ever had, if not the best. I admire his stand, and I think it proves that when some politicians get away from political campaigning and the matter of paying off debts for financial support for his election they completely reverse themselves. Warren was never the liberal as governor or attorney general or district attorney in Alameda County that he was as Supreme Court Justice.

He was a cold individual, I guess. People who were personal friends of his have said that he was -- or hard to get along with.

When Warren was district attorney in Alameda County all of the private clubs, like the Athenian Nile Club and the Athens Club and other private clubs, had slot machines -- including the labor movement [who] had slot machines in the labor temple. These clubs and organizations were raided infrequently. If the district attorney or the police decided to raid a gambling joint, someone phoned ahead and let the operators know that they were coming down so that you could get all the junk out of the way. Emeryville, I notice in here [the chronology] was raided. Well, the raid apparently didn't take, because as far as I know, you can still get almost anything

Ash: you want in Emeryville except slot-machines, and they may still have them. I remember times when a county law enforcement officer went to a meeting in Emeryville, the first place he stopped was in City Hall and told either the mayor or the chief of police he was in town. The gambling at Jackson was running. Of course when Warren was D.A. [he] had nothing to do with it, but when he was attorney general it operated off and on most of the time. It wasn't until Warren was elected governor that the clamps went on the slot-machines in Alameda County, and all over the state, and that Jackson was closed down.

Jackson had the wide open gambling for years, roulette, dice, poker, anything you see at Reno or Las Vegas. Then, when it was first closed down, it was closed down for all of the year except for the months that the state legislature met, when it was open again -- the state legislature wanted to gamble, I guess.

I think Warren knew where he wanted to go. I think Warren wanted to be governor of the State of California, and every move that he made until the time that he became governor was aimed at that. And I think he probably would have used any means to reach it. I'm not saying he was not a good governor. I don't think he was the best, but he was good. He was better than anything that we had had before, including Olsen. Olsen could have been a good governor, but why he wasn't, I don't know -- why he didn't do better. As far as I'm concerned he surely was much better than Knight and the only governor who did more for California was Pat Brown.

Feingold: Was the legislation that Warren backed as governor generally speaking pro-labor? Or anti-labor?

Ash: Very, very seldom does the labor movement have sufficient votes to get a real program through the legislature, and then labor needs an extra strong governor to support labor's program. The labor movement itself never had that much political muscle or control over the members of the legislature as some like to say.

Ash: I don't think Warren was either pro-union or anti-union -- better than most, but more favorable legislation was enacted under Governor Brown.

Part of the blame is upon the members of California unions, particularly a few union officers for not supporting a public official when he's doing a good job but either for political advantage or expecting a 100 % performance.

In the last election, 52% or 51% of the voters ~~in~~ California voted for Reagan; I'm sure that ~~51~~ or 52% of the trade unionists voted for Reagan, too.

Feingold: Did you, yourself, spend time in Sacramento lobbying for various --

Ash: Only for part of one session, and that was back just after I went with the Council. I don't remember what year it was now.

Feingold: Did you do that every year?

Ash: No. Only that one session. I can't even remember now what the reason for it was. That was the '45 session, I guess.

Feingold: Yes. Oh, that was the session where the health insurance stuff came up. Do you have any thoughts about that? About Warren's supporting it and why it didn't pass?

Ash: It just didn't get enough votes, the doctors' lobby was too great a pressure on members of the legislature, I suppose. But as far as Warren's concerned, I think Warren really meant what he said when he wanted health insurance.

Feingold: Do you think that he could have used his influence as governor more than he did to get it passed?

Ash: I really don't know that.

Feingold: What do you think made Warren change from the time

Feingold: he was in politics in California to the time that he went on to the Bench? Where did that liberality come from?

Ash: I don't know where it came from, but I think Warren just inherently believed in the philosophies that he's been able to put across in the Supreme Court, but had no way to do it as governor or attorney general. There again, I think that Warren wanted to be governor so bad that he wouldn't push very hard if he was up against too much opposition, and couldn't win. I don't know what was in the man's mind.

XIII RETIREMENT FROM THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

Feingold: When did you retire from the Central Labor Council?

Ash: Three years ago.

Feingold: And then you moved right up here?

Ash: Yes. A little trailer we set up here, and we lived in that thing, from September til almost Christmas Day, working on the house, in three feet of snow and nine below zero.

Feingold: That must have been brisk, to say the least!

Ash: Then I was on the State Personnel Board up until last year. I officially went off and the term expired in January, but Reagan didn't appoint anybody until April, and I hung on until April.

Feingold: What were the highlights of your activities on the State Personnel Board?

Ash: Attempting to secure better salaries and conditions for state employees. I was instrumental in getting adopted the first grievance procedure for state employees, the first night shift differential, attempted to get state fire fighters the same hours and salaries as the city fire fighters get. Fought for end of racial discrimination in state service; in fact, almost completely responsible for the end of discrimination in the Highway Patrol. Of course I had help. It wasn't just Ash.

Feingold: Well, I think that about wraps up all the questions I had. Do you have anything more you'd like to add?

Ash: No, I can't think of anything.

Feingold: I'd like to thank you for a very delightful afternoon!

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Earl Warren Oral History Project

Cornelius J. Haggerty

LABOR, LOS ANGELES, AND THE LEGISLATURE

With an Introduction by
George W. Johns

An Interview Conducted by
Amelia R. Fry



C. J. Haggerty

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INTRODUCTION

Neil Haggerty was undoubtedly the most outstanding labor executive of our generation. Almost single-handedly and despite the political pressures and ineptitudes existing in his executive council, he made the State Federation into a modern and competent organization.

The State Federation of Labor, commonly called "the State Fed," was originated in 1900 by a committee of the San Francisco Labor Council. Dan Haggerty told me once that this was in response to a request of the Sacramento Labor Council to affiliate with San Francisco. Instead, a state organization was desired and a call was issued for a meeting of the unions of California on January 7, 1901. One hundred and sixty-three delegates were present, representing sixty-one unions, five central bodies, and approximately ten thousand members.

Following this organization of the State Federation, the building trades unions refused to affiliate and under the leadership of P. H. McCarthy formed a State Building Trades Council in San Francisco in December, 1901. The two bodies remained apart and antagonistic to each other until 1910. At this time McCarthy's mayoralty ambitions desired a unified labor vote and the breach was healed.

In 1942, Secretary John O'Connell sent me to one of the small building trades craft unions to make a speech on behalf of its affiliation with the Council. I was doing fairly well until someone rose in the back of the hall and said, "Don't listen to this guy from the Labor Council! McCarthy warned us about them fellows." So Neil had two problems. He was from Los Angeles and he was a building tradesman.

Paul Scharrenberg had been secretary-treasurer of the State Federation since 1909. He left to edit the Seamen's Journal. Edward Vandeleur assumed the job from 1937 to 1943. During all these years, the San Francisco labor movement was sometimes unhappy with the State Fed. John O'Connell was often sent to Sacramento as legislative agent of the San Francisco Labor Council and was considered indispensable in this work.

This was the background when Neil Haggerty was elected in 1943, to the office of secretary-treasurer. He and his delightful wife, Peg, were "lace-curtain" Irish from Boston. Since 1933 he had headed the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council and since 1937 had served as president of the Federation. He was widely respected for his able oratory and parliamentary fairness in conventions.

When elected secretary, Neil activated, modernized and ably administered the business of the Federation. He was excellent in his relations with the legislature and the state government. He conducted a number of legislative fights and led the entire movement in its statewide political goals. Neil also solved many of the troublesome in-the-family problems that had disturbed the labor movement.

Neil left the State Federation in 1960 to assume the top spot nationally in the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO. He left a membership of 1,400,000. He died in October, 1971. He was seventy-seven years of age.

His very competent and popular successor was John F. Henning. Jack Henning was Neil's administrative assistant, research director and public relations man for many years. It seemed to me that Jack was the ideal man to talk about Neil's functions as representative and leader of the California Labor Federation. On November 24, 1975, Jack and I talked about Neil, and about the Warren period as it related to labor.

George W. Johns
Executive Secretary, retired
San Francisco Labor Council

January 1976
San Rafael, California

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN F. HENNING

(Date of Interview: 24 November, 1975)

Johns: This is an oral interview on November 24, 1975, of John F. Henning, executive secretary of the California Labor Federation. It is being conducted by George Johns, executive secretary, San Francisco Labor Council, retired.

The question under discussion is Neil Haggerty (Cornelius J. Haggerty), who was the predecessor secretary of the California Labor Federation and later head of the National Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

Jack, I think that maybe a good preliminary subject for us to talk about, which relates to the whole history of the California labor movement, is to start with this gentleman who recently died, Philip Bancroft, who conceived, organized, and was head of the Associated Farmers of California and was a leader in the great conflict between agriculture and labor that has endured all these years. Phil Bancroft was to say that he was successful for many years in defeating the labor movement in all of its legislative programs and also in defeating the organizing efforts of agricultural labor in the state of California. So let's start back there. What are your recollections, Jack, about Phil Bancroft?

Henning: I remember quite well when he ran for the United States Senate in 1938. He won the nomination in the primary, but was defeated by Sheridan Downey in the general election. He was a right-wing Republican, violently anti-labor, and, as you indicated, the great moving force within the Associated Farmers of California. I think he's claiming more credit than he deserves from his standpoint when he tells of stopping progressive legislation in Sacramento, because despite [Culbert L.] Olson's victory in winning the governorship in '38, Republican conservatives controlled the state senate and a split among Democrats gave the reactionaries control of the lower house.

So, Culbert Olson, and the labor movement generally, were prisoners of a conservative legislature, and, frankly, I don't think Bancroft had much to do with stopping the good bills that were introduced. It was the Republican conservative majority in the Senate and the Republican-Dixiecrat type of coalition they had in the Assembly that did the work.

Johns: Yes, I'm inclined to agree with you, Jack. I recall also that in Bancroft's memoirs over at The Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, he states that, "Earl Warren," after he got in, "went

Johns: completely over to the labor union crowd and the radical element, as he has done on the Supreme Court ever since."

This is not my recollection of history. I don't remember Earl Warren, particularly in his early days as attorney general or governor of the state, going over to the labor union crowd. I know he became fairly liberal when he got on the Supreme Court, and we all admired him for that. What do you think of that?

Henning: There is this: Warren's first term was more liberal than his second. He had run with the conservatives in displacing Olson, but upon taking office in 1943 he did move to the center and he did cooperate in numerous ways with the State Federation of Labor. So much so, that in 1946, when Warren ran for reelection, he was endorsed by the State AFL.

There was a great dispute on this within the labor movement but, nonetheless, he won the AFL endorsement in '46. But far from his moving strongly toward labor, I would say it should be described as a movement toward the center.

Johns: Now, Neil Haggerty came in as the executive secretary of the Labor Federation in 1943. That's when Edward Vandeleur died. Then Neil replaced him. And that was the same year that Warren was elected. When did you come in with Neil?

Henning: I came in with Neil in 1949.

Johns: What were the issues that Neil faced (of course, I guess Warren was involved)?

Henning: In the second administration of Earl Warren, or his second term, he signed into law the jurisdictional strike measure that had come out of jurisdictional conflicts in the film industry in Hollywood. Also in his second term he allowed the hot cargo bill enacted by the legislature to become law. It became law without his signature, but it became law, nonetheless. He argued that this was a matter that the court should decide.

As a result of his actions on the jurisdictional strike measure, and on the hot cargo bill, Neil Haggerty, who had strongly supported the endorsement of Warren in '46 because of his first term moderate positions, said that Earl Warren could no longer be considered a friend of labor. That was in the year 1947. Neil later said privately that he regretted the statement.

I would say this with respect to Earl Warren: he was never the liberal as governor that he became on the United States Supreme Court, but in terms of the Republican posture in California, he was

Henning: somewhat in the progressive Republican tradition, and so it's understandable that Bancroft would mistake this for radicalism.

Johns: Tell me more about Neil Haggerty, will you, Jack?

Henning: Yes. One of the reasons Neil Haggerty appreciated Earl Warren was that Neil had to live within a very conservative climate in the state legislature. Both houses in Warren's first term, and, indeed, in his second term, were under Republican control. The conservative Republicans were strong. Warren was a moderate, and so Neil understandably appreciated him.

Also, there's this to be said about Warren: in 1946, granted it was an election year, granted that he was seeking labor backing, he did call a special session of the legislature to have written into law an unemployment disability insurance act which provided benefits and wage compensation for non-occupational illness or injury. At that time, California was one of only three states in the union to have such a law.

So I do think, when we look at Warren's experiences as governor, that we have to recognize that he was on the moderate-progressive side for a Republican. Neil understood this. Neil had to live with the political realities in Sacramento, and as a result he and Warren became quite close in the political sense.

Neil wished that Warren should be endorsed in 1950 by the State Federation of Labor. However, in 1950 the feeling within the AFL had changed greatly from the position of endorsement in '46. In 1950 the AFL endorsed Jimmy Roosevelt for governor. Neil, however, felt that out of loyalty to Warren for what Warren had done, the movement should endorse him. But it did not.

Johns: But Warren was reelected.

Henning: Warren was reelected by an overwhelming margin over Jimmy Roosevelt.

Johns: During these days when you're talking about adverse conditions in the legislature in regard to being pro or anti-labor, how did Neil do?

Henning: Neil did very well because he had the great capacity of dealing in a very gracious way with the worst kind of villains on the Republican side in Sacramento. Neil was a master when it came to poise and self-control. He was, we may say, very suave in his relationships with the conservatives and never betrayed his inner feelings. He was a realist.

However, in terms of what labor was to get under liberals in later times, we really only received crumbs from the Republican

Henning: table in those years. I can remember in the fifties if we received five dollar a week increase in unemployment insurance, we were elated.

I'm sure that if he had liberal Democratic majorities in both houses, his skill would have been just as apparent as it was in surviving the Tory right wing Republicans. Neil Haggerty, I have always felt, was about the brightest man I ever met. He was undoubtedly the best labor executive I've ever known. I think that that showed in the legislature in Sacramento, but more so in updating and modernizing the State Federation.

Johns: I've always admired Neil, as you know, as an orator, and also he was always a perfect gentleman. I think he had a great deal of respect as a result of that.

Henning: That's true, and that was tested very much by the kind of people he had to face in Sacramento in those very conservative days.

Johns: As the years went by, then Goodwin Knight was governor. How did Neil react to Goody Knight?

Henning: Goody Knight had come into power as a conservative. He had been with the anti-Warren wing of the Republican party prior to Earl Warren accepting appointment to the Supreme Court in 1953. However, on coming to office, Knight began to emulate and follow the tradition of Warren. He came out strongly against right-to-work legislation, which was then a significant issue in California politics. Immediately upon coming to office, he declared himself in favor of a five dollar weekly increase in unemployment insurance (he made his appeal to the Teamster movement) and began to appoint a fair number of labor-type liberals, either from the movement directly or from movements associated with labor, to positions of importance in the Department of Industrial Relations and other state agencies.

And so Warren's tradition was carried on, surprisingly, within Republican party ranks, by Goodwin Knight. So much so, that in 1954 the AFL, despite strong debate within, did endorse Goodwin Knight for reelection as governor. He won over [Richard] Graves in the general election in November of 1954. However, four years later the Republican hierarchy decided that he should be put aside and, in effect, punished. He was told that he would not have the backing of the Los Angeles Times. The powers-that-be within the party advised him of this. He was told that if he sought reelection he would not have the backing of the financial powers of the party because Senator William Knowland now sought the governorship.

So it developed that Knowland was the candidate of the Republican party, winning the primary in '58, and Goodwin Knight sought election to the United States Senate, seeking the seat that Knowland had held.

Henning: As a result of this political maneuvering, and as a result of the feelings against right-to-work legislation, and as a result of the magnificent campaign of union labor all through the state, Knowland was defeated, Knight lost his bid for the senatorship to Clair Engle, a Democrat, and right-to-work was crushed.

Johns: Who was the Democratic candidate against Knowland, Jack?

Henning: The candidate against Knowland was then-attorney general Edmund G. Brown, who won unanimous labor support throughout California. He benefitted greatly from labor's campaign effort against right-to-work.

His coming brought in a new era and presented Neil Haggerty with a new situation in Sacramento. But it was a situation which found the Federation sharing liberal direction, one might say, in the worker programs with certain members of the legislature. Frankly, I don't think it was as healthy a situation as we have had in the recent legislative session under Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr.

As a result of this competition within the liberal community over the direction of labor programs, certain difficulties developed between the Federation and the Democratic floor leadership, especially in the state assembly. But this is part of the inevitable experience of a democracy and the Federation survived. But it was curious that the coming to power of the Democrats did bring about problems that no one anticipated, although their coming did bring about, in Pat Brown's first term, gains in the worker compensation programs that were greater than all the accumulated gains realized under Earl Warren or Goody Knight.

Johns: In addition to Neil Haggerty's abilities as a legislative representative, which I think we all recognize, this change in the legislature--the liberalization, the fact that there were more Democrats there--I guess also resulted to a substantial degree from Neil Haggerty's leadership in the political field. I know that Neil had a great influence in liberalizing the legislature over the years he was there. Have you any comment about his leadership in the political arena which caused the result of a legislature which would at least listen more often to the labor movement?

Henning: He was the ideal organization man. He liked order. In 1949 the National AFL established Labor's League for Political Education, and in the following year, 1950, the State Federation of Labor established the California Labor League for Political Education which formalized the AFL political effort. These two programs came about--that is, the national and state effort--as a result of labor's response to the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947.

Henning: I think that Neil Haggerty's direction of the California LLPE, as it was then known, was excellent and resulted in the improved position of liberalism in Sacramento. I think that his work in establishing the structure of the state Political League was very efficient, very constructive. It was also historic.

Johns: Let me ask you another question, Jack. Do you recall the LaFollette Committee which came here and investigated agricultural labor--what the guys like Bancroft were doing? [Laughing]

Henning: Yes. I remember that; and in 1958 (the right-to-work year), particularly, I remember going over and reading the findings of the LaFollette Committee not only in probing agriculture, but the activities of the Waterfront Employers' Association in San Francisco. The long fight of farmworkers to organize, of course, goes back to the early years of this century. The LaFollette Committee brought out the terroristic activities of the growers in denying unionization. Basically, the cause of all this is that farmworkers were never included under the Wagner Act enacted in 1935, because as great as Roosevelt was, he didn't have the votes to defeat the farm block which succeeded in having agricultural labor exempted from the act.

If agricultural labor had been included under the Wagner Act in 1935, we would have had a completely different history from that point forth with respect to farmworkers. Their rights would have been acknowledged by law, and we would have, by now, an established, mature system of collective bargaining in agriculture.

Johns: I want to change the subject for a moment. Do you have any comments about the Japanese evacuation during this last war? Were you part of that?

Henning: No, but reading recently on this, I can't help but note that Earl Warren has been perhaps unfairly held responsible for the evacuation and subsequent internment policies. The truth is that Franklin Roosevelt, in 1942, gave approval to the evacuation program, and it mattered not who would be governor of California; the governor would be obliged to enforce the federal directive.

Roosevelt took the action because the military high command insisted that there was a security problem existing with the presence of Japanese in the coastal areas (I'm speaking of the Pacific coast).

Earl Warren has always felt somewhat guilty of his role in this. It can be said that the man who became perhaps the greatest Chief Justice of this century should have protested this violation of personal freedom. He did not. The fact that he participated in the evacuation, however, was his duty under law. His silence was

Henning: undoubtedly reflecting the position of the overwhelming body of the American people who, in the hysteria of war, were prepared to limit the freedom of the Japanese.

It should be noted that Italians and Germans who were nationals (that is, were still citizens of Italy or Germany), were also forced to move from sensitive areas in coastal cities such as San Francisco, but they were not confined, as were the Japanese of California. I think we can, in summation, attribute the whole thing to the hysteria that followed the Pearl Harbor bombing.

However, we can say with some satisfaction that following the Second World War, the Japanese-Americans were embraced as they had never been before in their history in this country by the general population. There is virtually no racial prejudice against Japanese-Americans today, whereas long before Pearl Harbor the prejudice against the Japanese was a traditional part of California life.

Johns: What we've been talking about, Jack, has been an era of history that is probably one of the most exciting of all history. We were born and raised in a depression, we knew hunger and lack of jobs, and all the problems of this. Then this man Roosevelt came along and we had a New Deal. Then we lived our generation and, from that time in '33 when Roosevelt was inaugurated, up to the present, we've seen all these things happening and we've been active participants ourselves. Among these people was Neil Haggerty, and among the organizations was the California Labor Federation.

In conclusion, do you have any final comments you would like to say about this part of history and these participants in this great drama?

Henning: Yes. Neil Haggerty was essentially a traditionalist. But not a blind one. He came to the leadership of the State AFL at a time when the state labor movement was bitterly divided on the question of AFL loyalty as against CIO loyalty, and divided also on the question of Communist infiltration within the trade union movement. Neil Haggerty, I believe, moved the State AFL into the central stream of American labor thinking and action. I believe the Federation had been on the strongly conservative side of things until Haggerty moved the organization into the liberal center.

He had tolerance to understand that there were movements under way in the country that had to be acknowledged: the cry for industrial unionism, the cry to organize the unorganized, and that in the efforts to achieve these things there would be a certain turbulence. He didn't loan himself to the forces of the left, but neither did he allow himself to be used by rightists who would deny any change. I

Henning: think his success was that he kept the state movement intact during this period of violent disagreement. Under his leadership in this period the Federation began to expand and grow. He had a fine mind, general integrity, and complete devotion to the labor movement.

Johns: Thank you very much, Jack. This has been a very interesting discussion. Over and out.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

The top leadership position in California organized labor from the thirties to the present has been the secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation. At the time of this writing, that position was held by John Henning. Cornelius J. (Neil) Haggerty occupied it from 1943, when Edward D. Vandeleur died, until assuming the national presidency in 1960 of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in Washington, D.C. to his death in 1971.

Haggerty's labor constituency in 1943 was the largest in the state--the AFL--and in 1958 the merger with CIO boosted the membership to about 1,400,000. He not only served as the major labor advocate in the halls of the legislature and in the governor's office, but also sat on the state Board of Education, the State Personnel Board, the U.C. Board of Regents, a number of national boards, planning associations, and in the International Labor Organization.

Although he was a Governor Culbert Olson supporter in 1938 and 1942, Haggerty recommended to unionists in 1946 "Warren breeds confidence and respect even if you don't agree with him on every issue..."

As he recounts in the interview, he plunged into union activities while a youth in Boston. Later, after he and his wife had moved to Los Angeles in 1921, he began a rapid climb in the lathers' union. The big step came in 1933 when he was named secretary of the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council, which was (and is) considered by most observers as the most potent building trades council in the state, even though there was relatively little construction going on in those Depression years. Three years later he was elected vice president of the California State Federation of Labor, and in '37 he became the president. This is the position from which he moved into the powerful executive slot of secretary-treasurer in early 1943, just as Warren was moving into the governor's mansion in Sacramento.

The major labor issues of the Earl Warren Period in the state were the legality of secondary boycott (hot cargo), the jurisdictional strike, the closed shop, and the progressive development of unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and protective legislation. This memoir contains comments and some anecdotal material on these issues, which provide a vivid supplement to the Federation's annual reports; however, plans for the fuller, more detailed account to be recorded in late 1971, were obliterated by Mr. Haggerty's death in October of that year. Another session with Haggerty had been requested during an eastern trip in

February of 1971, but all union officials were in Miami remonstrating against the structures on wage levels levied by the Nixon administration. Later, it was too late.

While this interviewer was impressed with the way the president of the Building and Construction Trades of the United States could swing rapidly from the controversies that were focusing on his office in 1969, to articulate clearly the more remote days of his State Federation leadership, it may be true that the Haggerty of the '40s and '50s was a tiger, indeed. His sense of humor and remembrance of events seemed sharp enough in the interview; his own account of his 1947 debate with Warren over hot cargo (p. 40) indicates a mind that could keep more than a few jumps ahead.

The two sessions were held under difficult enough conditions: in his Washington office in the late mornings of November 4 and 6, 1969. Interruptions were frequent (as noted in the transcript). Employment quotas of minorities in construction jobs funded by federal government contracts were hanging hot in the Washington air; Senate hearings on the issue were going on in Senator Sam Ervin's subcommittee; and Haggerty agreed to a press conference later in the day, and I assumed that issue would be paramount.

Haggerty welcomed the interviewer jovially. We placed the microphone on his large desk beside an "Honorary Seabee" emblem,* and dove into the session under pressure of his limited time. On his right stood a tall American flag, on his left was the labor banner. We were in the AFL-CIO building on Sixteenth Street, as high as the gold dome of Saint John's, which shone a few yards away outside his window. At seventy-five, he was a solidly-built man of medium height with a ruddy face and eyes that twinkled at the point of a good story. That day he was wearing a lightweight gray suit with a blue pinstriped shirt and a conservative gray tie; he could have been mistaken for a top partner in a construction corporation.

That is symbolic, I thought, of his ability to be the channel-opener for communication between labor and management. He tries to minimize the normal dichotomy of interests, and his mode of dress has never been one to alienate the other side.

*Construction Battalion of the U. S. Navy.

The transcript was carefully checked over for accuracy by auditing the tape. Explanatory words and phrases were added, in brackets, and the manuscript was then final typed. Secretary Henning checked over his transcript and added some inserts himself; his public relations assistant, Glenn Martin, provided us with a background information memo. That, with selected relevant documents from the research files of the Earl Warren Project, may be found in the appendix. Others will be deposited in The Bancroft Library.

George W. Johns, executive secretary, retired, of the San Francisco Labor Council, agreed to write the introduction to his old friend and colleague's memoir. He asked John Henning, the present busy head of the Federation who had held an apprenticeship position as Haggerty's assistant during the latter years of the Warren era, to fill in some details that Haggerty had not lived long enough to cover himself. Henning readily agreed to do so, partly because he recognizes his former boss' impact on California history as being of such proportion that it deserves fuller documentation; and partly because he felt that the Earl Warren project had begun too late to capture the full brilliance and incisiveness of Haggerty's mind as it was before his illness in the mid-60s.

Amelia R. Fry
Interviewer-Editor

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California's 'Mr. Labor,' C. J. 'Neil' Haggerty, Dies

C. J. (Neil) Haggerty, one of the most respected and admired labor leaders in the nation, died last Sunday night at his home in Palm Springs.

Mr. Haggerty, 77, retired only last April from the post of President of the National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, one of the

highest posts in organized labor in the nation.

The Boston-born son of immigrant Irish parents, who quit school after the fourth grade and once sang Irish ballads on the streets of Boston to earn pennies, won the title of California's "Mr. Labor" more than 25 years ago after he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor in 1943.

John F. Henning, present executive officer of the State AFL-CIO who served as research director and administrative assistant to Haggerty for over a decade, said:

"The American labor movement has never produced a more talented man. Neil Haggerty built what became the State AFL-CIO movement. He made the state organization the finest of its kind in the country. Neil was a man of uncommon abilities that were recognized at every level of government and by the trade union movement of the nation."

A close friend of three California labor leaders,
(Continued on Page 4)



C. J. "NEIL" HAGGERTY, 1894-1971
"A Man of Uncommon Abilities"

California's 'Mr. Labor,' C. J. 'Neil' Haggerty, Dies

(Continued from Page 1)

California Governors—Earl Warren, Goodwin J. Knight, and Edmund G. Brown—Mr. Haggerty was the first labor official ever to serve on the University of California's Board of Regents.

His first association with the labor movement came in 1915 when he joined Lather's Local 72 in Boston. After World War I he transferred to Local 42 in Los Angeles in 1921.

Only a year after his election as business manager of his local in 1928, he was elected Second Vice President of the AFL International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.

Four years later he was elected Secretary of the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council.

A militant trade unionist, Mr.

Haggerty was credited with masterminding the organization of the building trades in the Los Angeles area during the 30's when Los Angeles was an "open shop" city.

In 1936 he was elected a vice president of the California Federation of Labor, AF of L, and, again one year later, was elected as its president.

In 1943 he was elected sec-

retary-treasurer of the State Labor Federation, which under his leadership earned a reputation as one of the most effective state organizations in the nation.

Advances won in the fields of state labor laws and social insurance under his leadership have been described as "an unparalleled example of effective representation of labor's broad interests before the legislature."

Neil Haggerty

Neil Haggerty is dead but the memory of his work will last as long as there is a state labor movement in California.

He was a man of uncommon intelligence, judgment and dedication. The American labor movement has never produced a more talented leader.

Union labor was Neil Haggerty's life and he gave to that cause years of unmatched attainment.

He possessed as few men could the qualities of leadership that allowed him to build the finest state labor organization in America.

During the last decade of his life he lead the National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department but his heart remained in California. It was proper in a sense that he should die here where he had so long struggled in behalf of working men and women.

Neil Haggerty was very much the father of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, and our organization can best honor him by committing itself more strongly to the principles of unionism to which he devoted his life.

When the AF of L and the CIO merged in 1958, Mr. Haggerty was elected to lead the newly formed California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

In 1960 he was appointed president of the National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, a position to which he was repeatedly re-elected until his retirement.

He had served as an AFL-CIO delegate to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as a delegate to the International Labor Organization of the United Nations, and as a member of the State Board of Education and the California State Personnel Board.

A Requiem Mass was held Wednesday at the St. Theresa Avila Catholic Church in Los Angeles with interment following at the Holy Cross Cemetery in Los Angeles.

Mr. Haggerty is survived by his wife, the former Margaret Kelleher; two sons, Cornelius J. Haggerty, Jr., of Villa Park, Orange County, and Donald P. Haggerty, a leader of Film Technicians Local 683 in Hollywood; seven grandchildren and six great grandchildren.

Contributions to a charity of the giver's choice may be acknowledged to Mrs. C. J. Haggerty, 2201 Calle Palo Fierro, Canyon Country Club Colony, Apt. 36, Palm Springs, Ca. 92262.



A REMEMBRANCE OF TIMES PAST—More than half a century ago, in 1917, "Neil" Haggerty, the intense young man at top right, posed with fellow members of the Lathers Local 72 of Boston at the construction site of the Balsams Hotel in Dixville Notch, N.H. Haggerty rose to head first the California State Federation of Labor and, later, the National AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department. He died Sunday, Oct. 10, 1971 in Palm Springs.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

(Interview 1, November 4, 1969, Washington, D.C.)

Fry: I'd like to start with where you were born. My notes say that you were born in 1894.

Haggerty: That's right. This Irish tenor business (that I told you about off the tape) was only a part of it. At the time I was a kid.

Fry: My notes say that you were born January 10, 1894, in Boston, and according to the San Francisco Examiner files you were one of seventeen children. Is that really true?

Haggerty: That's what they tell me.

Fry: How did you manage to survive in such a large family?

Haggerty: I think a lot of them didn't live too long. I don't remember. See, I just recall from age five years on, from the time my father [Daniel Haggerty] died. We didn't have more than nine or ten left at that time, I think, after some died, or married, or went off. I just couldn't keep track of the family, even though I was there all during that time.

I guess I was fifteen years old when I did do some singing. At that time the so-called illustrated songs were popular. You're too young to remember.

Fry: But I've talked to another man who sang those songs in movie houses.

Haggerty: Yes. In between movies you'd have one illustrated song while slides were flashed. For "Shine on Harvest Moon," you'd have a picture of a settee and a girl and a man and a moon and so forth. You'd have that and one spot light. I'd step out into the spot.

Haggerty: All that didn't last too long because I didn't like it. I didn't like that kind of a life. I was up too late at night. I was just a kid, and I wasn't growing. So I decided that I would get out of that business and get another job.

An old manager told me one time, he said, "Why don't you get out of this business. You may go some place or you may not. You've got the voice, but too many things might be in your way. So go some place and get a job on the outside." I went out and got a job as a deckhand on a coastal boat down in Revere and Revere to Nahant. Nahant is where the Lodges lived and still do.

Fry: May I back up a minute? What was your status on your family totem pole in terms of age in comparison to your brothers and sisters?

Haggerty: I had sisters and brothers who were younger and older. I don't know where I was in the list. I have no idea. I never thought about it.

Fry: Well, at any rate, you had a lot of them younger than you and a lot older. When did your father die?

Haggerty: He died when I was five years old. That would be 1899, since I was born in 1894. At least, that birth date is right because I had to get a [birth] certificate several times.

I'll tell you a quick story. The FBI came to see me in my office in Los Angeles (in the building trades union) some years ago and this very fine young man said, "I've come to you on a special mission. You've been very good to us during the war and helped us with a lot of people. In fact, your wife was working for us. But we don't know a thing about you." I said, "What do you want to know?" He said, "Where were you born?" I said, "Boston--Charlestown." I didn't tell him that I was born in the shadow of the Massachusetts State Prison because he wouldn't believe it. He said, "Do you have any records?" I said, "No, I don't. Never thought to bring it with me when I left Boston." So he said, "Maybe I can help you get it for you; you've been good. And we'll send you a copy." I said, "Fine. I appreciate that very much."

About three weeks passed, and he came in again and said, "You weren't born in Boston." I said, "No?" He said, "We can't find a record of you no place in the archives." So I said, "Let me try. Give me a few days."

Haggerty: I sat down and wrote a letter to my stepbrother. He was the last one born in the family. I wrote and asked him to go to the parish house where the priest lived on top of the hill and get a copy of my birth record. I enclosed a self-addressed envelope, air mail special, and said, "Send it right back to me when you get it." I had no question I could get it, because I know their records are always pretty accurate.

Sure enough, in about two days I got the birth record, and the funny part of it was that the birth records on this side had a little angel and cherubs floating around and so forth, and the back side is my marriage record. The priest, or whoever had kept the books at that time, had followed me that far. I think it was the sisters, probably, [who kept the books] who I went to school with, the Catholic nuns.

I called up this fellow--his name was Bailey--and I said, "You know, I've always had a high regard for the FBI; I thought they do a splendid job for our country; but I've lost it. The FBI can't find even a birth record; what about finding a man?" He said, "What are you getting at?" I said, "There's my birth record."

I've got copies made of it now. Sometimes copies won't do, so I keep the original as well as the copies.

So, that's that little bit of business.

Fry: When your father died, did this put your family in financial hardship?

Haggerty: Oh, yes. He didn't have much; he had been a freight handler. We just got used to living in that meager manner. I think we picked up a dollar here and there. Mother [Nora Kelleher Haggerty] would do some work. She was that kind of person. She'd "go out working" as they called it--the Irish called it--at that time. Going out working in somebody else's house. I suppose a dollar or two a day was what they got at that time. So we kept together somehow.

She kept us, and finally she married again, and that's a part of my life I'd like to forget. One of those unfortunate things.

Fry: Were you able to go to school?

Haggerty: Yes, I went to school to about the sixth grade.

Fry: And this was the parochial school there?

Haggerty: Yes. I'd been in a couple of parochial schools; and a couple of public schools, but I just didn't seem to get along. I did much better in the parochial schools, so they kept me there.

I had a sister [nun] who was, I thought, an angel. I still think so. She was very understanding and she was a specialist in penmanship with the Spencerian method, Palmer and so forth. I told her later on in life when I went to see her--she was really tired, had had a heart attack in Framingham, just visiting from California--I told her, I said, "All the nice things you did for me, but you destroyed my handwriting." She said, "You're going to tell me, too, that because I changed the method, I spoiled your handwriting." So I got an alibi. Her name was Sister Mary Garard.

ENTRY INTO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Longshoring

Fry: Then you sang in the theatres, and now we have you to the point where you went to work on the waterfront?

Haggerty: Well, I'd get extra money, extra work at longshore. Once in a while a ship would have to be unloaded.

Fry: This was while you were also singing?

Haggerty: Yes. Charlestown was quite a port. I lived within two blocks of the place where the ships would dock. But I don't think that's important.

Fry: That was pretty important in your life. That put you in touch with organized labor then.

Haggerty: Well, when you have a job you have to take it, that's all. I used to carry coal in four-ton wagons. Those were horse-drawn wagons I am talking about. They would go up to curbside. Then you'd have to bring that coal back in an alley-way between houses and drop it down a chute to the cellar bins.

Haggerty: You'd get fifty cents a ton for lugging that coal from the wagon to the cellar chute. That was quite common. A lot of us kids, we'd hang around outside the coal yard and a guy would come out and someone would holler, "You want to take a trip to so-and-so? Two tons." You would or you wouldn't. If you did, you got a dollar. Or two dollars, lucky that day.

That's the same with longshore. When there were extra boys and they needed longshore [work] and they wanted to get a ship loaded and unloaded quickly without loss of time, why they'd pick up us kids. We were big enough to push a truck with a load on it and unload the ship and load it again.

I have worked as a kid as a longshoreman. And (not regular, but just on one occasion) about twenty-four hours around the clock. At that time I wasn't getting along with my stepfather and I didn't have a home. I was living in a little hotel in the waterfront area. Afterwards I slept, I think, around the clock. I told the watchman when I went to bed, I said, "Don't you bother me, 'cause I'm not going to move." And I didn't.

Fry: Well, it's a good thing that you were a husky teenager at that time.

Haggerty: Oh, yes. I wasn't very big. But you have to work.

You'd get a permit from the longshore union. I wasn't going to be a longshoreman. They permitted me to work, and I think at that time it was without any payment or permit fee. I don't recall making any payment.

THE LATHERS' UNION

Fry: Had you had experience with unions at this point?

Haggerty: No, no. Except that all around me were all the teamster unions and longshoremen and building trades. I had a friend who was in the building trades, and later on when I came into the lathers' union, I was--let me see, it was 1913, and I got my card in 1915--within six months I became president of the local union.

Haggerty: All during the time I was apprentice boy, I went to the meetings and took part, not in discussions because I wasn't entitled to a vote because I hadn't become a member, but I was an apprentice boy and as such I could attend the meetings. So I learned a lot while going to the meetings. We had a particularly able president who was a good lather and a parliamentarian. He taught me many things while I sat there and watched him.

So, that's what the story is on. The name of the union was Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union.

Fry: Oh, the same as you were in later in Los Angeles.

Haggerty: I've got the card now; had it for fifty-two years, I think. So I carry it always.

Fry: Next to your heart!

Haggerty: Always! [Laughter] Nice little book. It contains on the first page--

Fry: [reading] Your enrollment date of December 30, 1915. So you were nineteen years old.

Haggerty: It's time to pay some dues.

Fry: After fifty-two years, I should think they would let you slide by.

Haggerty: I don't. I pay full dues. About every three months I send a check in for three months. Thirteen dollars now, but it's part of the union, and I can afford to do it. I won't get any credit for it, but nevertheless I'm satisfied that nobody could say, "You're riding free." I could ride for what they call "tax" for a dollar and a quarter a month. I prefer not to do it.

Fry: All right.

Was that an open shop town, then?

Haggerty: Boston? No, Boston was, in the building trades, a pretty well-organized town. The building trades, the teamsters, and the longshoremen.

Haggerty: The navy yard wasn't organized. The navy yard was a source of employment. Around where I lived, around Charlestown and Boston, you were either a teamster, a longshoreman, a freight handler or [in the] navy yard. The navy yards you worked when the ships were in requiring things to be done to them. When they were gone, there were no further ships to take care of, then you looked [for other work].

We used to have a wise expression years ago. One fellow to the other would say, "Lend me five bucks so that I can get a call to the navy yard." That was security, if he got a call. I knew of no other means of livelihood except those four or five things.

Most of those men at my time of life in Boston were born in the old country.

Fry: The "old country" being Ireland?

Haggerty: Ireland mostly, yes. Ireland and Nova Scotia, probably. Mostly Irish. Most of them sent their sons to school. A lot of us didn't go, but a lot did go and they kept them in school and got them degrees and so forth.

I remember when Harvard University admitted the first Irish football player. It became quite a story. His name was Dan Hurley. He became a doctor later on, my doctor.

Fry: You were in kind of the first wave who did not have their college degrees and who therefore were in this vast labor market in Boston. In the Boston labor scene did you have any experience there with the measures that you later came to lobby so hard for in California, such as unemployment insurance, disability insurance, child labor legislation?

Haggerty: No. They had a workmen's compensation law, injuries and workmen's comp, but I had nothing to do with it, of course.

Fry: But you did know that such a thing existed?

Haggerty: Yes. Because they had a famous attorney in town, John R. Murphy--you notice most of these names I give you are mostly Irish names? John R. was a very prominent lawyer and he handled mostly workmen's compensation cases, any case, for that matter. Long frock coat type of gentleman, you know, glasses dropped down, with a little bit of the brogue left yet.

Haggerty: They tell the story about the bricklayer who was walking by the scaffold and a brick fell two stories on his head and laid him up quite a while. They finally got a settlement. You had to sue at that time. You didn't have any workmen's compensation laws. You obtained benefits by suing the employer or whoever was responsible. When they finally got the settlement, Murphy retained half of it for his retainer, for his work in the case. The Irishman said, "Who got hit with a brick, you or I?" [Laughter] Of course, I don't know about other states, but in California the fee is set by the labor commission, and there is the holdback.

Fry: Why did you get so active in the union? What caused that early interest?

Haggerty: I don't know. It interested me. I read about the meetings and attended these meetings all the time, and served on committees appointed by the chairman. Watching this old chairman operate was very educational. When he retired he nominated me to take his place, six months after I got my card. I said to him, "This is quite a job." He said, "No. You've been here. Now you've been watching me for the last two and a half, three years. You come to most of the meetings. Any time you get into trouble, why you call me and I'll come down." But I didn't have to.

I got interested at that time, I guess, because of the way I had to work, myself, when I was a kid and coming along. There wasn't much you could do until you bettered conditions for the working man. I never did get into any particularly high labor circles in Massachusetts because I left there.

NAVAL SERVICE IN WORLD WAR I

Fry: Well, shortly after that you must have gone into the navy for World War I. Is that right?

Haggerty: Yes, that's right; I forgot about that. Well, that's one of those things that I was doing, long distance ferry boat service, as they called it. I was on the USS Seattle. She was the flagship of the White Squadron. The White Squadron generally had the flagship as the admiral's ship, which is again unimportant for your purposes.

Fry: No it's not. We want to know all these things.

Haggerty: I served for about two years, I guess. I was what they call a USNRF--a United States Naval Reserve Force.

Fry: What did you do on the ship?

Haggerty: I went on as a first class carpenter. I enlisted as such. I would guess there were great openings at that time. They needed lots of men. It wasn't hard to advance. I went from my original uniform to a first class uniform, and then I became a chief petty officer. Chief carpenter's mate.

Fry: Did you stay in the navy after Armistice?

Haggerty: No, but I didn't get out so soon. It took me quite a few months to obtain my discharge. I was discharged in York, in Pelham Bay. In fact, like most of the "war babies" as we called them (reserves), I could have stayed in because the captain offered a pretty good career if you stayed in.

I was a temporary chief which paid me, I think, sixty dollars a month. Had I stayed, I could have become probably a warrant officer eventually and could have made a career out of it. But I just didn't like the navy that well. I liked the construction work. I was a building tradesman at that time and I wanted to get back to it again.

Of course, there was a girl in the picture, you know.

FROM BOSTON TO LOS ANGELES

Fry: I wondered when you met your wife.

Haggerty: Just about that time. Yes.

Fry: Was she a New York girl?

Haggerty: No, she was a Charlestown girl. I met her up at a resort area in Concord, Massachusetts. We were married in 1920.

After we had been married about six months, a general strike came on, a lockout as we call it in the building trades. The negotiating committee for the building trades unions--that was all the unions in one group--they were unable

Haggerty: to reach conclusions with the employers' groups who also negotiated in a single organization.

Fry: You were in Los Angeles, now, or still in Boston?

Haggerty: Boston. We were married in Boston. We were married in the Blessed Sacrament Church in Malden-Medford.

Six months after we were married, this strike came on. I was president of the union, of course, and I couldn't take any work. Work that came into the office had to be given to a man who had a family. The bigger the family--

Fry: So, you couldn't take any work.

Haggerty: I couldn't qualify up at that time. My wife and I talked about it. She'd had a bad attack of a throat problem. A doctor told her, "You will always have that problem if you stay here in Boston in this climate. You ought to go west." So I said, "Well, what part west?" He said, "San Francisco, Los Angeles."

I sure don't think that the doctor knew that the two cities are just about as different as night and day, climate-wise. But anyway we did go to San Francisco.

I had no concern. We had been loafing twenty-three weeks, by the way, without a job.

Fry: How did you make out? You didn't have any unemployment insurance?

Haggerty: No, there was no compensation at all, not even from the union. We had a little bit set aside.

Fry: Did you start to say that your wife worked some?

Haggerty: She was working up to the time we were married. She had a few dollars some place. She was foxy, too! She always did that. She saved us. She had a sugar bowl some place.

We decided that we had to get out of there and go some place else because there was nothing in Boston for us, even though I would leave my position. The position of president was unpaid, of course, and just a lot of work. You served on all sorts of committees and whatnot.

Haggerty: So, we went to San Francisco. There we found the same condition existed.

Fry: They were having a general craft strike, weren't they?

Haggerty: That's right, those strikes with the building trades. They had an anti-labor group there called the Industrial Association. We were there about a week and all week there was a horrible fog. You can get them in San Francisco. We went to the doctor's and he said, "Well, you can't stay here. You've got to go south." We said, "What do you mean south." He said, "Los Angeles or Fresno." So I said to my business agent, "What's the work look like down around--" I didn't know the [Central] Valley from the coast. The only thing I had read about was San Francisco. That's where I was going. I didn't read about Fresno or Bakersfield or Los Angeles or San Diego. The business agent said, "I think you'll find it pretty good in Los Angeles." He just wanted to get rid of me, get me on the way.

I said, "Well, I'm going to go down there." So I went down to Los Angeles with the missus. We stopped at a little hotel on Fifth Street, which is Skid Row now. It wasn't bad at that time.

I had no concern about getting a job if there was a job around, because I had been trained properly in my apprenticeship days in Boston at all branches of my particular trade, whether it was wood, wire or metal or anything else of that sort. I could work on a house and build a home or I could work on a cathedral. I was trained that way, so I had enough confidence that I would be all right in finding a job.

We went down there and I went to the business agent, which is customary in my little trade, checking with him first.

I said to him, "How is work?" He said, "Oh, plenty. Don't worry about it. Woodlathe." Well, of course, there is no more woodlathe. You don't make it anymore today. You see it on old buildings when they knock the plaster off. The business agent said, "Come on down."

So I said, "I'll go and get a place to live." We were living in a hotel at that time. We went out around Exposition Boulevard. Lovely area. All those nice big front lawns. We didn't have any lawns where we lived in Boston.

Fry: That's right. I'll bet that looked pretty glamorous to you, didn't it?

Haggerty: And the big back yards, with all grass. We rented a place there and paid half rent with another couple. They were there when we got there and they wanted to share the rent, so we rented half, one bedroom and the use of the kitchen. But that wasn't too satisfactory.

I got a job the next week, we moved. We moved to a little bungalow on Thirty-Sixth Street. There must have been fifty yards of lawn, straight out from that little house. The baby was coming; the oldest boy, and that tickled Mrs. Haggerty no end. She said, "Look at that beautiful lawn." That's where the baby spent his time while we were there.

So that's the rest on that business.

Fry: Where was your job? You did get work in Los Angeles and you continued to work fairly regularly then? This was during the tough years in the Los Angeles labor scene.

Haggerty: Oh, I got various jobs. Yes, it was in '20, '21. It was scattered. We were able to get the baby out of the hospital. We had enough money for that! As a rule, you had to buy them to get them out! See, he was born in a Methodist hospital there, one of the best hospitals, I think, in the city. That was one hundred dollars.

Fry: You were sure that he had a birth certificate.

Haggerty: [Laughing] Oh, that's right! That's right! That is correct.

So we stayed there and my wife loved Los Angeles. There was no such thing in 1920 as smog. That was true up to 1940. It was just gorgeous. Clear, blue skies, a little light, floating haze, cumulus, but not anything to worry about. We bought a little 1917 Ford which I'm sure you've never even seen. It was a self-starter.

Fry: Yes--with your own elbow action! [Laughs]

Haggerty: We would go out and go down to the beach and get around, and we enjoyed ourselves. Work got a little better off all the time, and finally we got a lot of big jobs.

Haggerty: In '22, Los Angeles started to grow and expand. Oh, gracious, there was plenty of work for a man who knew his business. I thought I knew mine, so I was doing very well, and we decided to build a house. We bought a couple of lots on Silver Lake Boulevard, over in the hills overlooking a nice lake. I worked on it in the morning before I went to work and at night when I came back and on weekends, and some friends helped me, and so forth. So, we got a house built.

I'm just thinking, just as an aside, that I bought a better house in 1940. It was about 1922, 1923 when we were building this first house. It was finished and we enjoyed it. It had a nice big glassed-in front porch overlooking the lake, and so forth.

Peg's mother came out and lived with us. It was one of those things where you could turn the kids loose on the hills, you know, and give them a big dog to take care of them. They had a big collie dog. You couldn't see the little kids because the wheat was this high. [indicating with hand] You could just see the dog's tail so you knew where he was.

So, we stayed there all that time, and I became business agent in 1928.

UP THE STEPS OF THE UNION LADDER

Fry: You started in the union right away, I guess

Haggerty: Again, I stayed at all the meetings. I went to the regular meetings every Friday and attended the executive council meetings, and I was a member of the council. I became president of that local. I was there a very short space of time; I've forgotten the year. Do you have it here?

Fry: Well, all I have is a rather vague note that you went up the steps of the union ladder and in 1929 you became the second vice president of the Los Angeles International--

Haggerty: Yes. That's the national.

Fry: So I don't have any dates for your local.

Haggerty: I came to the local about 1921 and became president of the union again in a short space of time. I remained as president, and as president I went to the central labor council meetings as a delegate, and to the building trades council meetings. One of these is the overall council for all of the unions in the area of Los Angeles. That's the Los Angeles Central Labor Council. I just got their newspaper, it seems to me. [Looks for paper] Here it is. I still get it. [Shows newspaper to interviewer]

Fry: Oh, the Los Angeles Citizen.

Haggerty: That's a trade paper. Yes. They put that out even at that time in those days.

So, I was active in the [labor] movement. When I got away from my own little union, and into the councils I immediately got into things and I took part in what was going on. In 1928 I was elected business agent of Local 42 of the lathers. I remained there and I went back in '29 to my first convention of my international union in St. Louis. There I was elected ninth vice president.

Fry: I have second vice president in my notes.

Haggerty: I became second vice president. Now I'm first vice president. I'm still an official of the union.

Fry: But first you were ninth vice president?

Haggerty: Yes.

Fry: What was your function as ninth?

Haggerty: Well, it's hard to say what the functions of a vice president are.

Fry: I thought maybe each one had a--

Haggerty: No. You see, there was no compensation. You had to get your own job someplace else, but you did whatever you could to assist the organization, organizationwise or otherwise.

Fry: This made you a member of the executive council?

Haggerty: That's right. The executive council of the international union set union policy.

Open Shop Town

Fry: I'm curious about your reaction to the Los Angeles labor scene, because it was much more open shop then than the Boston scene had been.

Haggerty: That's right.

Fry: What did you think about that when you first hit it?

Haggerty: Well, at that time I didn't really think much about it when I really learned how disorganized it really was. When I went to work for the building trades council, that's when we started to organize and put a lot of time in.

Now I'm trying to remember how I moved into that.

[Interruption]

Fry: Weren't you business agent of the Los Angeles union? It says here in my notes that in 1928 you were elected business manager of the Los Angeles Lathers' Union, Local 42.

Haggerty: That's right. I was elected in 1928 and went back to my first convention in St. Louis in 1929 and was elected ninth vice president of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union. The deep Depression took place in the '30s. I was business agent and I became vice president. That just means an honorary position where you can do some good for the organization without compensation.

Fry: That's right. That's not a job, it's a position.

Haggerty: That's a nice way of putting it. Business agent was a job.

Fry: Did you have any experience in Los Angeles with the problems involved in the American plan?

Haggerty: Oh, yes. The Merchants and Manufacturers at that time issued orders to all employers that they must have some non-union people in their employ.

For example, in a building and construction job, why it was difficult for them to check and prove that there wasn't some union men on the job, but they made the employer say there wasn't. In other words, an employer's contract

- Haggerty: would have to say he had fifteen lathers working on the job and one of them was not a member of the lathers' union.
- Fry: And your contractor had this?
- Haggerty: That kept the "M and M's" [Merchants and Manufacturers] happy, if they had an open shop job, a non-union job.
- Fry: But in fact sometimes they were all union men?
- Haggerty: Oh, yes. Some of the contractors didn't cooperate with them [the employers] in that respect. They'd just not be truthful, because when you are in Rome, you do as Romans do.
- Fry: Could I ask you more about the problems that other unions might have been having in Los Angeles? Were you at all aware of other labor problems then?
- Haggerty: Oh, yes. All of our unions had problems, because they were being harassed and annoyed and attacked by emissaries of the Chamber of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers and so forth.

Some of the larger firms were moving out here. Los Angeles was growing. There was a contractors' list, a preferred list, which was sent to, say, Minnesota Mining and Smelting Company, who wanted to come out to Los Angeles. They would write to the Chamber of Commerce, or maybe some other department; I don't know. They were planning to come to Los Angeles to build a building of so many thousand feet and they would like the names of some preferred contractors whom they could investigate for asking for bids on the job.

Invariably the contractors whose names were submitted were not union employers, until as we went along, we did organize some of the employers.

I'm going to try not to use names if I can, because it wouldn't do any good.

Well, anyway, in other words, the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers advertised Los Angeles as the great non-union area of the country, the only white spot where you wouldn't be bothered or harassed by unions. You could have your operation completely non-union and control it yourself and they would be glad to show you around, and they did. They succeeded.

Haggerty: But as time went along, things changed.

Fry: In some other cities there was a lot of collusion between the Chamber of Commerce groups and the law enforcement offices in order to maintain open shop, and I wondered if this was true in Los Angeles.

Haggerty: To some extent. That wasn't true in our case in the building trades. I haven't got to that part of it yet. The building trades council, of which I was the director and secretary, was, I think, the real backbone of the organization of Los Angeles.

Town Hall and Public Speaking

Haggerty: Let's see. We are now on the National Recovery Act. By the way, at that time, I accepted every request to speak and every appointment to appear at merchants' dinners--the Lions, the lambs, and what have you--to tell our story of trade unionism.

David Babcock was one of the organizers of what is now known as Town Hall. He was one of the original organizers; there were five or six of them. I couldn't give you their names now. The name "Town Hall" was possessed by an individual. We couldn't use it without his consent and without approval.

One of the leaders, Dave Babcock, was the vice president I think of one of the largest brokerage and investment houses in the city. I'm trying to think of its name--Blythe and Company.

Dave was a wonderful person. He was trying to find out if there was communism in the labor movement and if there was, how much and how many.

We got to know each other--I don't know how. He told me what he was looking for, what he was doing. I said, "Why don't you come to one of our meetings and see what goes on?" He said, "Could I?" I said, "Yes, sure. You come as my guest and you sit on the floor with me. You can't talk unless you're invited to. Under 'Good and Welfare' [item on agenda of union meetings], you can't talk unless you are invited to, but you

Haggerty: can sit, and if you want to ask questions, I will ask them for you. Only delegates can speak and then only under certain orders such as 'Good and Welfare.'" He said, "I'd love to see how that works."

He came with me that night, and it so happened that it was the night that a credential of a delegate was being challenged, not as being a Communist, but being friendly with and associating with a Communist. So there was quite a long debate.

Dave didn't know that the average worker and the average delegate could speak so clearly, understandingly, and make his point felt. He was quite impressed. I told him, "Any time you want to come, you just let me know and you come back with me."

We used to have dinner every once in a while; luncheon once in a while. It got so that a lot of these people in the Town Hall circle and the wealthy circle--non-union because they didn't know any better--would go to Dave if they found that one of their shops were being approached by an organizer, with the result that Dave was in great demand as a knowledgeable person as to how the trade unions functioned.

Whenever a big operator with a lot of employees was concerned, he'd go to Dave. Dave would arrange a luncheon with myself and this individual and we'd talk about the problems. I was able to be helpful in that respect, because my credentials with Dave Babcock were very good. I think he was helpful too. I think he spoke for us. He was a heavy, solid citizen, a very wealthy man. He's dead now. I think his family owned much of San Diego County. He was, I thought, a very splendid person. We didn't agree, of course, but I have great admiration for him.

So, that was the start of some of the organization work in Los Angeles.

Fry: Now, tell me how you got started speaking. Was this through Dave Babcock? Or was this before you met him?

Haggerty: No, this was before I met Dave. I met Dave probably through Town Hall. I met him through public gatherings. He was always friendly.

Fry: I'm not sure I have the right Town Hall in mind. Do you mean a place for public debate?

Haggerty: There is an organization called Town Hall with headquarters in the Biltmore Hotel. It has luncheons regularly. It has grown quite a bit.

[Interruption]

I'll get a pamphlet on it.

Fry: Is this the Town Hall that was sometimes broadcast on the radio?

Haggerty: I don't think so, no. This was the Town Hall that was organized and operated out of Los Angeles and its headquarters are at the Biltmore Hotel. I'm sure they still have a staff there.

Fry: It served as a vehicle, right?

Haggerty: Yes. At least it showed that people could come in the room with me and I didn't have any bombs and I didn't use them if I had them, and that I could talk. I took my spoon out of my cup when I drank coffee and I didn't use a knife to get my peas on the fork, and so forth. It was amazing, believe it or not.

I learned a lot in this manner. Some of these people didn't have the least idea how a representative of labor operated. They looked upon him as something to be fearful of and concerned about. They did not trust him. Babcock, I think, cured, or rather, eradicated, some of that attitude with a lot of people.

Later on, of course, when they got to know our people and they would talk with them, they found that we weren't all ogres; we weren't all bomb throwers, as one of them used to say.

Fry: In other words, that reputation was a carry-over from the McNamara brothers.

Haggerty: Well, I use "bomb tossing" as a loose term.

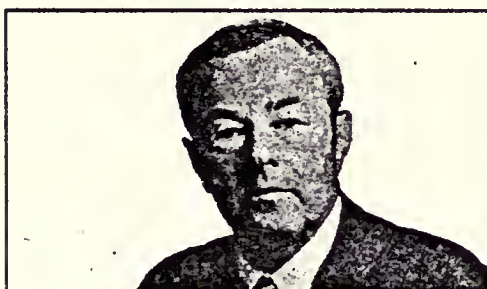
The whole general atmosphere was one of concern, of fear, of not to get out too far. After a while they were able to

TOWN HALL JOURNAL



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LOS ANGELES FORUM
REGULAR GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING
GUEST OF HONOR AND SPEAKER



HAROLD WILLENS

*President,
Factory Equipment Supply Corporation*

"THE NEW AMERICAN MILITARISM: PANACEA OR PARANOIA?"

"One of the most difficult things about the military-industrial complex is finding it," Assistant Secretary of Defense Roger T. Kelley told Town Hall.

Mr. Willens presents an entirely different viewpoint. He considers absurd the concept that the "complex" is a conspiracy. However, he believes we must recognize that it exists and that, with the influence it wields and the money it controls, the military has unprecedented power. Sufficient power to imperil democracy.

Mr. Willens is National Chairman of the Businessmen's Educational Fund. Members of the organization are business leaders all across the country. The organization operates on the theory that what is good for the country is good for business rather than vice versa. Mr. Willens believes that a coalition of nonpartisan businessmen can make a contribution toward the solution of our problems.

CHAIRMAN: FRANK L. MALLORY

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1969, 12:00 NOON
BILTMORE HOTEL, LUNCHEON \$4.25

TOWN HALL CALENDAR

All Town Hall members may participate in any of these meetings by phoning reservations at least a day in advance to the Town Hall office: (213) 628-8141.

NEW MEMBERS LUNCHEON

■ November 7, Friday.

NEW MEMBERS LUNCHEON. All new members of Town Hall are cordially invited to meet members of the Board of Governors, Section Chairmen, and Town Hall staff at this special luncheon meeting. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel.

SECTION MEETINGS

■ November 5, Wednesday.

"RETURN TO RESPONSIBILITY" will be the topic of FRANK GOBLE, President, Thomas Jefferson Research Center, at the luncheon meeting of the SYSTEMS & TECHNOLOGY SECTION. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel, Athenian Room 4. Ladies Welcome.

■ November 6, Thursday.

"PETROLEUM TAXATION" will be the topic of DR. RICHARD J. GONZALEZ, Petroleum Consultant, at a joint luncheon meeting of the NATURAL RESOURCES and PUBLIC FINANCE & TAXATION SECTIONS. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel, Cordoban Room 8.

■ November 12, Wednesday.

"THE FUTURE OF SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS" will be the topic of DR. LEO GREBLER, Professor, Graduate School of Business Administration, U.C.L.A., at the luncheon meeting of the ECONOMICS SECTION. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel, Corsican Room 7.

■ November 13, Thursday.

"CUT-BACKS IN CONSTRUCTION—DARE WE RUN THE RISK?" will be the topic of JOHN A. CINQUEMANI, Executive Secretary, Los Angeles Building and Trades Council, at a joint luncheon meeting of the REGIONAL PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT and INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTIONS. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel, Grecian Room 3.

■ November 19, Wednesday.

"A REPORT ON THE CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMISSION ON MARINE AND COASTAL RESOURCES" will be the topic of GORDON LILL, Vice Chairman, California Advisory Commission on Marine and Coastal Resources, at the luncheon meeting of the OCEANOGRAPHY SECTION. 12:00 Noon, Biltmore Hotel, Corsican Room 7.

GENERAL LUNCHEONS

■ October 30, Thursday.

THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN, Governor of the State of California, will be the guest speaker at the
(Continued on Page 281)

—Remarks of Dr. Sidney Grossman, Page 278—

For Luncheon Reservations Call: (213) 628-8141

Haggerty: find out that we could meet with them, we could go to lunch with them, we could have breakfast with them in the morning, we could be there shaved and dressed and clean, and so forth, and it just became one of those things where acceptance was automatic.

A lot of people enjoyed our people very much because they were candid, and they knew that they were going to organize their plant. That was their business and they [the employers] were notified to that effect. A lot of them would then have their chance to gird their loins to oppose it. It became a contest, in some instances.

Relations With the Press

Fry: At lunch the other day in San Francisco with Vice President Alvin Gruhn of the California Federation of Labor, he told me that you had a lot bigger job in Los Angeles than corresponding positions anywhere else, because you had so much to overcome when you first gained your position of leadership in the unions there.

I wonder about that Los Angeles Times. At this point, were you worried about press relations?

Haggerty: Oh, yes. The press as such were never friendly; at times was unfriendly. At times they would twist stories. Now some of their reporters didn't always twist stories, but editorials were bad and always the kind that were injurious and harmful wherever they could make them so.

It's ironical now, when you stop and think of it. Today the Times is the accepted union newspaper in the city of Los Angeles.

Fry: Yes, but it certainly wasn't then. That's been fairly recent, hasn't it?

Haggerty: About two years ago, I think. I got to know Mrs. Chandler. I served on the Board of Regents with her. She was a member of the board.

Fry: That was in the fifties, right?

Haggerty: Yes. That was long after the time you and I were talking about now.

Fry: Did you get along with her pretty well on the Regents?

Haggerty: Yes, pretty well. She was objective, and she was a good Regent. She knew what she was talking about. Her tastes were good when it came to approving buildings and schematic plans, and so forth.

She did some things that, of course, I didn't agree with. I suppose, likewise. We'd have a chance to vote against each other. But it didn't happen very often. Many times it didn't go to a vote. I can't be too critical of her. I didn't get that familiar.

She was very nice. I'll give you a little incident, and I hope you don't use it. When Goody Knight was governor, we were pretty good friends. I was fortunate in having the friendship of several governors in my time. They were completely trustworthy and they would ask me things which were very personal. I was pleased that they would ask me such confidential questions about the governing of a state.

The whole Regents were meeting in Los Angeles, and it was at Christmas, I guess, few days before Christmas. Mrs. Chandler invited all the Regents to a reception in the [Times] building with cocktails. I never thought that I'd go into the Times building for a reception or otherwise! (Except to visit the editor.)

We had a very fine evening, and when I came in Goody Knight said, "I don't believe it."

I said, "Well, you can take another look. Same boy, same weight. Same fellow you always knew." I said, "By the way, what are you doing here?"

He said, "I came at the invitation of Mrs. Chandler."

I said, "I came the very same way." [Laughter] Mrs. Chandler's invitation.

Fry: The power of a woman.

Haggerty: She built that concert hall down there. She built it by scrounging for money. She was ruthless, and she knew who had money. That's the best part about it. She knew where it was.

Okay, now. We're still in Los Angeles?

Launching an Organizing Drive

Fry: Yes, we are, and you're still the second vice president; also the business manager, I guess, of your local.

Haggerty: Yes. In 1929 I left and went at the request of the president on a trip around the northern part of California, Oregon, Washington, and Utah, and into Denver. He hadn't had a man in that district in many years to talk with our leadership on the local level. I went there and wound up in Spokane, Washington--no, in Seattle, Washington, where I was informed by the president that the bank had failed with all of our money, and that I must return home.

Fry: Was that the crash, when all the banks were failing?

Haggerty: We were the first ones, I think, but some failed afterwards. This was the forerunner, I guess. I came back home to Los Angeles. Things were getting pretty bad.

Fry: And that was the union's money in the bank at Spokane.

Haggerty: Yes. We recovered it all later on. It was the railroad bank in Cleveland, and something happened. I never knew what happened, but in time they paid off, dollar for dollar. But, in the meantime, we didn't get any pay. Nobody got any pay in the organization until they finally got straightened out, and borrowed some money. We had a death fund that provided that we would give \$300 to a widow of a deceased member for burial purposes. It was to see that our members got a decent burial and not a potters field burial. It was really just a funeral fund.

At that time, in 1931 or '32, I could have gone to work. There were a couple of jobs going on in Los Angeles, but I had been working for a year and one half without losing any time or money. I mean [I had been working] with my tools,

Haggerty: because I had left the business end of it. I could have gone to work with my tools. I kept my tools intact until the kids disposed of them, I think.

So, I decided that this would be a good time to start to organize. It [the economy] couldn't get any lower. People couldn't get any hungrier, and things couldn't get any worse. I had a bonus from the navy that I had never taken, a few hundred dollars, and I had an insurance policy that I could borrow on. I was building a home, two-thirds finished. The equity was good in it, so I felt that I could afford to get along with not too much fat and a little leanness, and cut the kids down to one egg instead of two, and so forth.

I decided, "I'm going to go to work and organize this town." They said it couldn't be done. I talked to general [union] presidents back in Washington, and they said, "It's just impossible. That's called the so-called white spot of the nation, non-unionwise. We've spent millions trying to organize it, and it can't be organized."

So I forgot about them and said, "All right, we'll get our own money." I went back [to Los Angeles] and called a meeting of the building trades. I told them that I felt that this town could be organized, and if they would help me and be willing to work nights and Saturdays and Sundays, we could organize the city of Los Angeles and its environs. I sold it to most of the leadership of the movement.

We arranged, number one, that we would stop the Saturday work. All our boys, non-union men, were working on Saturdays. They had to work seven days and seven nights a week to make a week's pay. That's how low the salary was that was being paid.

So, we went around on Saturdays and talked to the men. We told them that if they would stop their Saturday work and just work five days a week, they'd help us to get some work, and we could help them get a little more money than they were getting now.

To make a long story short, we would have about 300 men come down to the labor temple on Saturday morning. They'd go out in five cars, five men to a car, under strict instructions just to talk to the boys on the job. If anybody got tough with them, forget about it and walk away. Don't use their hands or anything else, but just their tongue.

Haggerty: It was amazing how that campaign took. I knew of only one incident where an overzealous policeman in Beverly Hills-- of course, it would have been Beverly Hills--got a little bit over anxious and shook one of my boys up a bit. We went to court with it and he got himself a lacing from the judge and the whole court of Beverly Hills. You see how just the cause was when you can get that in Beverly Hills.

To make a long story short, we went from that sort of thing, and if we decided that we were going to picket a building, we would picket a building night and day. Later on the Merchants and Manufacturers decided that we were moving too fast and accomplishing too much.

For example, one of the main contractors in the city-- the name is still there and the son is still there, still doing it--was Griffith Company. We went to Steve and I talked with him. I used to meet with him. I would go around and talk to these contractors, who were not union. Sometimes they'd buy me lunch, or give me a cigar. I didn't smoke cigars, but I always took it.

We would talk about the problems of how we couldn't get the men organized and so forth, and never could. This time, Steve got the contract for the job. I went to him and I saw that he wasn't going to change his policies. [He was still] non-union, open shop.

I went back to the Columbia Broadcasting Company, CBS. It was their building, on Hollywood Boulevard and someplace around Gower, I guess. I spoke to the general manager, Don something, and he said, "I'm sorry. Steve is a neighbor of mine and so I gave him the job." I said, "Well, you'll have a little trouble building the job." He said, "You're threatening us." I said, "No, sir, merely advising you that certain crafts aren't going to work on your job. If you can build this job without those crafts, well, you go right ahead."

He found out in about three days that he couldn't. He couldn't get any electricity in there. He couldn't get the high power transformer he needed. So, he called me. There had been some unpleasantness, too, by the men themselves. We had so many men unemployed and so many men available, you know, who would walk around a job.

Haggerty: In order to keep peace, whenever it was decided by myself and the committee to picket a job under the law, I would call the police station. There was one man who was in charge of what they called the Red Squad. [His name was] Red, Red something. He was a very decent guy. But he was known as a pusher. Rough guy, tough guy. Pushed people around and so forth.

I'd call and say, "Well, [I want to speak to] the Red Squad." I'd get ahold of Red and tell him we were going to put two men out on the picket line in such a location. [I'd say,] "Do you want to cover it?" [He'd say,] "Will you take care of it?" I'd say, "Yes, we'll put out men who will behave themselves. You might run around every once in a while and see that the employers don't run over us," as they did sometimes.

Anyway, we were lucky enough and handled things well enough so that we were able to get, after a while, complete organization of the building trades.

I went to a dinner meeting of the district council of the carpenters [union] at the Palladium celebrating their fiftieth anniversary. It's the largest district council of carpenters in the country, in Los Angeles now. It was when I left. Still is. I heard the president--it could very well be he was exaggerating--saying to the delegation, he said, "I want you to know that this city has brought back to this dinner the man who was responsible for the conditions we now enjoy in Southern California. There isn't a nail driven in this area that isn't driven by a union man with a union card in his pocket."

I don't know whether that's true or not, but that's pretty close to it. When we started, some years ago, that was not true.

SECRETARY OF THE LOS ANGELES BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION
TRADES COUNCIL

Fry: When you started organizing, was that when you were secretary of the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council? That was 1933 according to my notes.

Haggerty: You're right again. I looked at it here a while ago and you're right, 1933. That's when the big building started, in '32 and '33. That's when the real boom of construction took place in and around Southern California. There was a great shortage of men.

I had a situation at one time where the employer said, "Well, I'll go along with you, and I'll make this job union, provided you take in the men I now employ." And I said, "All right, I'll take that deal. Maybe some of my people won't like it, but I'll buy it. But I'll give you this slight warning, that within fourteen days time, you will have discharged the men you now employ at seven dollars a day; you'll want our men at ten dollars a day, and you'll get them."

He said, "You mean to tell me that I've got inferior men?" I said, "No, I'm merely telling you that you are employing seven dollar men. We can only give you ten dollar men. You're going to pay them ten dollars." The sequel to that was, he said that he never got a better deal because he got the best men he ever used.

That was some of these men. Unfortunately we had to tell them, "You're going to give us those men who were only worth seven dollars. We demand ten dollars for them. Where are they going to go?" "Well," he said, "You can only do one thing. Retrain them."

That's the wrap-up of the organization of Los Angeles.

Fry: As you organized and got new men in the union, what did you do with your training programs for apprentices?

Haggerty: Well, just increased. As the membership increased, of course, you increased your apprenticeships.

Fry: Of course, some of them were already experienced, but probably didn't have the training that--

Haggerty: That's right. They weren't experienced enough or skilled enough to demand the scale that the unions had set, so the result was that they needed a little more, and if they did, they were paid full scale while they were training.

Now, if we had apprenticeship training programs going on, at that time, then we might be able to reduce the scale to the training program scale. It all depends. No two unions function alike. There's thirty-eight local unions in Los Angeles and no two would have the same system. You had to be a mind reader at times.

Construction Code Adjuster

Fry: This was also the beginning of federal construction, wasn't it? In fact, in my notes, I have that the National Industrial Recovery Act was the same year as the first year that you were secretary of the building and construction trades in Los Angeles, and in some places there was a problem, because--

Haggerty: No, there was no problem to speak of. You probably may have heard the name of Judge Ben Lindsay? Well, Judge Ben Lindsay called me one day. He had been appointed as construction code adjuster. We had formed quite a few codes in our respective crafts. That was the idea of the NRA, setting the codes up.

He [Judge Lindsay] called me. I happened to know him. I went into Denver some time before that on some campaign or other, making a speech or something else.

He called me and said, "Haggerty, are you busy?" I said, "Well, no. Not too busy." He said, "Would you come and talk to me?" I said, "Sure." He said, "You know, I'm in the Chamber of Commerce building." I said, "Well, that's all right."

Fry: [Laughing] You're always being trapped into going into buildings you don't want to!

Haggerty: Where angels fear to tread! [Laughter] So I went up there, and he said, "I've got a problem. There are eighteen construction codes and one master code. I haven't got a building

Haggerty: tradesman in my employ. I've taken it up with my superior and they said, 'Why don't you get one? Hire one.' Now, I'm asking you if you won't be my construction code adjuster and whenever they bring in complaints, I'd want you to go out."

I said, "I couldn't do it because I've got a job now." The job I had wasn't paying much because there wasn't much to get. So, he said, "Well, you'd get \$36 a week here." I said, "That's a bonanza right now." He said, "You can work at your own job." I said, "Can I still be in the building trades?" He said, "Oh, sure." I said, "Okay, then I'll take it."

So I took the job at \$36 a week, and became construction code adjuster. Whenever somebody would bring in a complaint-- for example, I went to a roofing shop where they fudged materials and everything else, and put on roofs that weren't waterproof. This fellow called and made the complaints. I went out and wanted to see the books of the company. They showed them to me. I told them that they owed the man so many dollars that they hadn't paid him.

Then about two weeks later I come out there as the business agent of the building trades council. The fellow said, "What are you, anyway? The other day you were here as a government man." I said, "That's right. I was." He said, "And now you're a business agent here?" And I said, "I am." He said, "What the hell goes on here?"

Anyway, I did that for several reasons. The construction code adjuster gave me an entre into places I couldn't go otherwise, you see? Once I got in, why I'd do what I could to further my own cause.

Fry: You met the contractors and employers that way.

Haggerty: That's right. Got along all right.

Fry: That was the city building codes?

Haggerty: No, that was NIRA codes. The city had codes that fitted into it, and many of the unions and employers jointly would develop a code. So, we had them both.

New Deal Efforts

Haggerty: Let me inject one thing here. After the sick chicken killed the blue eagle--I'm talking about the court case.

Fry: The Supreme Court ruled NIRA unconstitutional--

Haggerty: --ruled it invalid, yes. They brought a bad case.

Anyway, they had to let all this help go. They had, oh gracious, four floors in that building on the corner of Eighth and Figueroa, that the army engineers have now, I think. They had a big staff. There was a girl I knew there; she came from Tennessee. Mrs. Wilkinson was her name. So, we said goodbye and went home. Of course, I still had my building trades job I was working on without any pay.

I ran across Wilkie [Mrs. Wilkinson] in the street one day. So, I said to Wilkie, "What are you doing?" She said, "Nothing. I'm doing some work for Old Man Chadwick." He was an old man who was in our division. He called himself "The Iconoclast." Quite a humorous old fellow. Very able. A Democrat. I said, "Well, I'm just starting out on a campaign." She was a very good secretary. She's still working in the same place. I said, "Will you come to work for me?" She said, "Sure, I'd love to. I'd love to see what the building trades are like."

I said, "You'd have to come on the basis that whatever I'd get I'd give you half. If I made ten dollars this week, I'd give you five. If I made twenty, you'd get ten. That's all the hours I'd ask you to work."

We had a little office down at the labor temple that was about eight foot long and, I guess, four foot wide. There was a little desk there that I could get between Wilkie and the wall. That's about the size of the desk. She was tall and skinny. She's still there, God bless her. She's a wonder. We went to work together.

Of course, Wilkie was properly compensated. I'd love to take some time to talk to her, because she took the minutes, kept the books, she wrote all the letters. She wrote letters for a lot of the business agents who couldn't write letters. She wrote letters for a lot of the business agents who couldn't write letters the way they'd like to. There was

Haggerty: nothing she couldn't do.

Fry: Do you think she still has those minutes?

Haggerty: Oh, yes.

Fry: Do you have a place to deposit them? It's part of labor history in California.

Haggerty: Why don't you drop in there sometime. You going back to Los Angeles?

Fry: I'm not sure when I'll be back in LA. If I write a letter, could you drop a note to her?

Haggerty: Sure. I would have to drop it, I suppose, to her boss, whose got a name like John Cinquamani. [Chuckles]

Johnny's secretary of the building trades council, now, the job that I had. If you go in there, you'll see over the door of the auditorium the name of Haggerty. Haggerty Hall.

Fry: That's a real honor!

Haggerty: Well, you can't get much more, can you? [Laughter]

Fry: On this NIRA I read somewhere that the construction trades were unhappy because sometimes people were hired at below union rates because they were hired through NIRA. Do you have trouble with that?

Haggerty: That wouldn't be NIRA. That would be WPA. [Works Progress Administration]

Fry: But it did say NIRA. Now, maybe NIRA used WPA for some of their jobs?

Haggerty: No, it didn't have anything to do with it. That was a code, a law put in by the president to codify conditions in the industry and see that they were paid and observed.

Now, if they codified...I don't recall. It could very well be that they'd get together, you know, the employers and some people, and codify something less than it should be. If that happened, of course, we'd have to go over the old code and revise it.

Fry: But at any rate, nothing like that happened in Los Angeles?

Haggerty: I don't recall that. No.

Fry: While we're on federal government things, do you want to comment on the problem of the Wagner Act? Were you at all familiar there with--

Haggerty: Yes, but we didn't have one, so you see, the building trades was sort of a direct action program. They don't go to the law unless they have to. In the case of the Wagner Act, well, I don't recall. My memory's been pretty good today, but I don't recall that particular angle at all.

Fry: One other thing, about government efforts that were going on during the Depression then, was the state emergency labor camps that Rex Black set up and the state was running. I think this ran without any wages at all for the men. Do you remember that? The emergency labor camps were just at the beginning of the Depression in California and actually preceded the CCC. [Civilian Conservation Corps] They were like the CCC except they didn't pay anybody wages.

Haggerty: No, I don't remember.

Financing Union Organizing

Fry: I'm about to take you on into 1937. Is there anything else that you can remember about the early thirties scene in Los Angeles that you would want to tell about as you continued organizing?

Haggerty: Well, we continued organizing.

There is just the one thing that I would like to add to it. All of the organizing and operating work that we did in Los Angeles, we paid for ourselves. We got no help from this [national AFL] level in Washington until much later. In other words, we had a system that for every new member that our unions took into membership, they'd give us a dollar, based on the premise that any new members obtained at that time were obtained because of the activity and the work of the building trades.

When I left them they were building a new building down there. It's not new, but it's a nice building now. As I say,

Haggerty: they named a hall after me, and all that sort of business. But I can say this one council organized itself, financed itself, and is still able to do it. That was [Los Angeles] the non-union, open-shop center of the nation.

Fry: Were you able to get any help from the California State Federation [of Labor] at that point?

Haggerty: Not financially, no. We were giving them more help than they were giving us.

Fry: How?

Haggerty: Well, a building trades council that is organized properly pounds into its membership meeting after meeting the need for the purchase of union-made and union-labeled goods.

I used to go around to those clerks; you know, the Clerks' Union. They were pretty hard to organize. I remember going into a store one day to buy a suit. I was a little bit embarrassed because my hands were all torn and dirty from my work. I was dressed in old clothes and I wanted to buy a tie or suit or something. I approached this impeccable gentleman with some timidity and told him what I wanted, how much I could afford to pay. There was a suit in the window that I saw that was \$22.50, I think, with two pair of pants. That's what I wanted. He kind of looked at me a little bit sardonically about paying that little for a suit. That's all I could afford to pay.

I used to tell that story. I said, "I now walk into a clothing store with my head high. I'm probably paid three times what this impeccably dressed gentleman is because I got a union. My union helps me to do this and do that." I used to tell that story quite often. It's a good story.

Fry: To unorganized workers--

Haggerty: Oh, yes, sure, sure. Something else I was just going to tell you--

To indicate the respect which the navy, particularly, and the army had for Los Angeles and its unions and their operations--the building trades, particularly. We had an agreement with a big general contractor. We had about 50 million dollars' worth of construction work going on in and

Haggerty: around down in San Pedro as far as Oxnard. You know, they were building Hueneme naval construction battalion [Sea Bee] base at that time. The construction was all along that coast line, down as far as the hospital in Long Beach. The agreement provided that we would readjust the pay scales at the end of a year. The navy bought that and said it was all right. They approved it. So, when the year rolled around we conducted negotiations with the general contractors, the AGC [Associated General Contractors of America]. We used to deal with those people on a pretty friendly basis.

In the meantime, the navy said they would not want to adjust the wage scales of our various crafts until we finished negotiations with the AGC. We said, "All right. If you agree that you will make it retroactive, then we will take that deal." I said, "All right," and I asked the contractor to get a letter from the AGC or from the navy stating exactly what he told us. He did. I looked at it and I went back to our union and told them. I said, "Let's keep this thing going if we can. It's important, and we may be a little bit late getting you adjusted, but you'll get it."

Time passed, and about three months went by. Finally I went to the contractor, and I said, "We're long past due. We've finished with our negotiations, and now it's time for adjustment." He said, "I can't do a thing about it, man." I said, "Well, why not?" He said, "The navy won't let me." I said, "Who?" He said, "Commander So-and-so." I said, "Can I talk with him?" He said, "Sure." His name was on the letter. It said that if we would remain at work that the adjustment agreed to between our unions and the AGC would be honored retroactively.

Time went on and nothing happened. I went to them and they said they couldn't do it, the navy wouldn't let them. I happened to know the admiral there. We became somewhat friendly. He was not the friendliest type, but I liked him very much.

So I called [the admiral], and his aide answered, whom I didn't like at all. The name was Pennybaker. Some of our boys used to call him Pennypacker. I told him, I said, "Lieutenant, I'd like to talk to the admiral. I want to get this adjustment made out here as per our understanding."

Haggerty: He said, "We aren't going to pay that. You got too much." I said, "I'm not going to talk to you about what's too much. What's not enough? We have a contract with the navy. The navy either honors it or the navy will come out and build 50 million dollars' worth of work. One or the other. I can't hold these men any longer. For three months now I've kept them quiet on the basis that we had a contract."

He said, "We aren't going to pay it."

I said, "Let me talk to the admiral."

He said, "The admiral's busy."

I said, "Okay."

I hung up, and in about half an hour I called. I called the admiral direct. He was very nice. He is now, of course, one of the most reactionary men in the world. At that time he was a pretty broad-minded guy. So, I told him my story.

He said, "Well, why can't you talk about this with me way back here [in Washington]."

I said, "Well, I can't get back east without a priority." They were giving priorities at that time only to the navy and to the ferry pilots going back and forth. So he said, "I'll send you a priority. In half an hour you'll have it in the office. Come on back."

Meantime, I got ahold of the contractor and I said, "I want you to send a labor relations man with me, and I want him to have the file." He was very cooperative. He wanted to do it, but they wouldn't let him. The labor relations man was one of our old members. He's now assistant to the state federation [of labor] in Los Angeles.*

Fry: Oh, really.

Haggerty: Yes. So, we got on a plane within about two hours, and were back in Washington in the morning, and went to the office of the admiral. Pennybaker was there and he said, "What's on

*In 1969, the assistant to the secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor was Ernest Webb.

Haggerty: your mind, Haggerty?"

I said, "This agreement that we had, I'd like to have it kept and honored. This is what happened."

He said, "Can you prove it?"

I said, "Yes, sir. I asked Mr. Webb to give me a copy of the letter which is signed by your commander."

He said, "Let's take a look at it."

He had behind his desk a cot and two coffee pots and two burners, and that's about all he had, I guess. Night and day he slept like that. I didn't want to add to his burden if I could help it. But we had to have this done.

He looked at it and he said, "Well, that's his signature, all right. I can see your nice fine hand here."

I said, "I don't have any fine hand. That's his. I didn't sign it. He signed it."

"Aw," he said, "come off it. Who are you kidding?"

I said, "I hope I'm not trying to kid you."

He said, "You're not. What's it going to cost us?"

I said, "\$495 thousand retroactively." He sort of grinned at me and he said, "All right. We'll hold your feet to the fire. You can burn ours too. Go on back home."

I think that's a good story.

Fry: And you got all the way through it without telling me who the admiral was.

Haggerty: Admiral Ben Moreell. He's, of course, retired now, a very wealthy man. [He's working now with] Jones and Laughlin. It's one of the largest corporations in the country.

Okay, now. What else do you want? It's getting past my bedtime.

Fry: The afternoon is wearing on. When do you want to close shop?

Haggerty: Well, what else do you want, now?

The Anti-Union Backlashes

Fry: Well, while you were there in Los Angeles, there was a reaction to the closed shop efforts, especially by a group of women. They called themselves TNT. Do you remember that? The Neutral Thousands?

Haggerty: Yes, The Neutral Thousands, the TNT; and the Southern Californians, Incorporated. We had a name for them--[laughs]--

The Neutral Thousands was a group employed by--this was a bunch of wealthy men. We were going too far and going too fast, organizing too much, and they organized this TNT, The Neutral Thousands, to offset us. The other one was the Women of the Pacific, Mrs. Selven. She's still active in non-union activity in the Northwest, last I heard from her.

The Neutral Thousands [head] was also a woman, Bessie Abbott Oakes. You got her name? She was head of TNT. She was financed by the Southern Californians, Incorporated.

Fry: But that was not easily proven, was it?

Haggerty: It was proven.

Fry: But not easily?

Haggerty: They took the files of The Neutral Thousands and put them someplace out of the state, in Arizona.

The Women of the Pacific was just as bad. That was a tough campaign.

Fry: There was a hot-cargo proposition in 1942, when you were head of the state federation.

Haggerty: That's the first one, in 1942. That's the one that was put on the ballot against my judgment and arguments [in the state federation of labor]. I fought it like hell, and I told them that I couldn't win that time because everything was against us. The teamsters were the big men there; they were like the bull in the china shop. Hors Waterbury.

Fry: Horace Waterbury?

Haggerty: They called him "Hors." He was the one that pushed that. He was just one of many, of course. They spent money to qualify a petition. It was a referendum movement that they had, to outlaw the so-called hot cargo. It was a bill passed in 1941, the hot cargo bill [SB 877] prohibiting the use of secondary boycotts. After it passed [over Governor Olson's veto] he insisted that it go on the ballot [as a referendum], to remove it from the statutes. I told him it couldn't be done, but Hors was able to get more votes than I [on the council], so I had to go and make [co-ordinate] the fight. That was the reaction of the union and the state executive council. We failed. We didn't succeed.

The next big campaign [a right-to-work referendum] was on the side of the employers. They decided they were going to put it on the ballot--that was in '56 or '58--but that's the last campaign before I left for Washington. I think we spent a small fortune to beat that. We had to. There was no choice. The employers put it on the ballot to prevent the continued strengthening of our organizations in the state of California. If they were lucky, why they would have done it, but they didn't quite make it. We got a lot of help that time from the movement back here [in the East]. We raised a lot of money on our own. We had a good campaign, and, as a result, we won; whereas, in the other one in 1942, it wasn't so true.

Fry: It was interesting about the hot cargo, because that came up under Governor Olson at first. He vetoed it in 1941. Earl Warren was attorney general and he had declared it "of doubtful unconstitutionality." It was passed by the legislature over Olson's veto. Now, you were at that time--

Haggerty: Representing the federation in Sacramento in legislation. I was state president of the federation of labor. What year was this?

Fry: It was the 1941 session. How did the legislature manage to get the two-thirds majority?

Haggerty: It was passed by only one vote. Of course, labor had a lot to learn that time, and a lot of money was spent. Olson was a very unpopular governor. We had supported him, of course. God knows, he did his best for us, but he just didn't know how to do it, unfortunately. You just couldn't get a closer friend, but what good is a friend if things he tries to do can't be accomplished?

Fry: Now, the campaign against Proposition One which was on the ballot in 1942: When the state federation of labor convention went ahead and decided this in September of 1941, they only had until August 15, 1942, to collect 132,000 signatures. That must be what gave you pause! But they did collect the signatures.

Haggerty: Yes, they collected the signatures, but then we had to spend quite a bit of money towards the end of it to get the signatures, you see. That's when it costs you, in the last week or last month.

Fry: This took away your campaign money?

Haggerty: That's right.

The real tough campaign was the right-to-work campaign in 1958. Those who collected signatures in the right-to-work [referendum] must have spent at least a dollar to a dollar and one-half per name in the last month. I said they would qualify the right-to-work measure on the ballot. And they did. A lot of [union] people didn't think so.

Then they said, "We didn't follow your advice one time, and we lost. Now we'll take your program, and you say what you want done."

I said, "I want the right to use the entire treasury right now. I have an idea." The idea was, we put a measure on the ballot as well as they. We put a measure on the ballot revising the whole tax structure and placing the burden of the tax and the payment of taxes for the operation of the state right in the lap of the wealthy. I call it a very just tax, placing the taxes on those most able to bear them. It was a gadget, a gimmick, to divert [their] funds from attacking us to defending themselves.

It succeeded. I said to the [executive] board [of the federation of labor], "Now, this is something that may cause me to wind up in the asylum, but I think it's an asset. All the times of standing up straight, trying to fight clean, and they don't fight clean; let's fight it this way this time." Even the cardinal got angry at me, and he was my very good friend.

Fry: The cardinal?

Haggerty: He said, "You don't mean that?"

I said, "I do." I said, "Good heavens, that is one of the most overbearing tax laws the mind of man can devise."

He said, "It wasn't devised by the mind of man." He meant it was devised by Lucifer, I guess! He had a great sense of humor.

Fry: But that worked. I remember that one, too.

Haggerty: Now, what else?

Fry: I still want to ask you one more thing about this 1941 proposition. Do you remember Willis Allen who was the head of the Ham and Eggs? Didn't they come into a new alliance with the state federation of labor in the Proposition One campaign?

Haggerty: In order to get some more money, too. Yes. They didn't succeed at either one.

We told them, "We're playing one game right across the board, Whatever you do, you go ahead and do," but he wanted so much more from us and so forth. All of us, including myself, had no respect for him, no use for him. He wasn't the kind of person I would want to mingle with or work with or anything else, so that was the story.

By the way, you were wrong in your statement here about hot cargo being vetoed by Olson, and Warren declared it unconstitutional. Warren just let it become law without his signature.

Fry: That was later, though, in 1947. When Warren was attorney general, in 1941, he had--

Haggerty: Oh, excuse me.

Fry: You're right that when he was governor he did let it become law without his signature.

Haggerty: I remember, I went to him at that time and suggested to him that--he didn't like the law, I knew he didn't--and I assumed that he was going to veto hot cargo.

Haggerty: He said, "No, I don't think so, Neil. I don't like the law, it's true, but I'm not going to veto it."

I said, "Why?"

"Well," he said, "It's passed by the people, for one thing, and I as governor never should try to override the people. No governor should. People are number one, and number two--" What was the second reason?

Fry: Had it been upheld by a court?

Haggerty: Yes. It had been upheld by a court. No, it was in the hands of the court.

"Second," he said, "it is in the hands of the court."

I said, "That's all right. You say you don't believe in overriding the people, yet you have it before the court, the state supreme court. It's been there now for quite some weeks, this measure. Two of those members on the court you've appointed. I happen to believe that the court is now prepared to declare that particular act unconstitutional. If you should fail to veto it, as you say you're going to, automatically you bring to your position [and influence] two members of the court. All people are grateful, and particularly a man who received an appointment as a state supreme court judge would be grateful. He wouldn't do much to injure the person who appointed him. You are, then, on the one hand saying that you don't believe in influencing the legislature, but you will [influence] the court."

He said, "I never thought of that." He was always bland and plain, and yet so thoroughly honest. [He said,] "I never thought about it in that way." He said, "I'm going east for about ten weeks and we've got that much time. I'm going to take your brief with me. Will you give me an extra copy?" I said, "Sure." So I gave him a few copies.

He had been east a period of time and he came back. He called me over and said, "Well, I think I've about decided what to do with this bill number so and so." He had a piece of yellow paper not lined and a very thin, small reporter's pencil. Red, I think it was. He said, "I have before me senate bill of thus-and-so and--what's the word I'm trying to use?--initiated by the people who know its effect, and so forth. In view of the fact that the people have passed the

Haggerty: measure, I shall not attempt to override the people. I am informed on good authority that the supreme court has before it this measure (and so forth), and it is also a matter for the court, and I shall not attempt to influence the court. I therefore shall allow the bill to become law without my signature." [Chuckles] Beautiful!

So he said, "How do you like it?" I said, "I don't like it. I'll tell you a little story, if you don't mind."

He says, "No, go ahead."

I said, "When I was a kid, Mother used to give us sulfur and molasses. When the spring would come and the cold, the blood would change, I guess. The sulfur was the real effective medicine which thinned the blood out and you didn't have so many problems, whereas the molasses was a palliative. You'll give me molasses."

That's it. It was.

Well, now, my dear lady, I think I've given you enough time today.

PRESIDENT OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR
(Interview 2, November 6, 1969, Washington, D.C.)

The La Follette Committee Investigations

Fry: I'd like to start back about 1937 when you became president of the California State Federation of Labor and ask you if you had anything to do with the La Follette Committee, which came to California and investigated farm labor agitation in 1938. Were you involved in that at the time?

Haggerty: Yes, we came back to Washington, a delegation from Los Angeles.

Let's see, I was with the building trades council there in Los Angeles and was also president of the state federation. (That was the non-paying job and the building trades council was paying something.) We had been advised by the mayor who-- I say "we", the central labor council secretary and myself-- had been advised that the Merchants and Manufacturers were

Haggerty: moving their files out of California so that they couldn't be examined by the authorities. They were files containing information on their non-union activities.

Fry: By which authorities? Are you talking about the La Follette Committee?

Haggerty: Yes, what we did then led to the La Follette Committee. We brought out that there was some substance to what the mayor told us about. We had a few dollars left in the treasuries of both the building trades and the central labor council, and we came back to Washington here to talk to La Follette. We talked to him and his staff and told them the problem. We told them what we thought they might find, the continual anti-labor activities by a lot of big people, big executives who were out to stop the organization of unions and to break the unions that were organized.

He said that apparently there wasn't too much material or evidence, but anyway, he said that he would examine the situation and if money was obtainable he would come out with his committee to California and hold hearings on the matter, which he did, finally. He came out, and a senator from Utah. Maybe you can get that.

Fry: Yes.*

Haggerty: Well, the two of them held hearings up and down the state of California which had to do with collusion with authorities to break the unions and so forth, the Merchants and Manufacturers from which later on came the TNT and the Women of the Pacific, or as we called them, "The Mermaids."
[Laughter]

All three or four of those organizations were in collusion to prevent the organization of workers in the area. The committee finally printed quite a story. I don't know whether you can find or not. Can you? There were about eight bound copies, I think.

Fry: You mean there are only eight bound copies of the report?

Haggerty: I think so. I've forgotten. I know that they ran out of money, anyway. But they developed quite a bit of testimony

*Senator Elbert D. Thomas

Haggerty: to the effect that there was a movement on foot by the moneyed interests of the area, the non-union element, to prevent the organization of workers in any particular type of organization.

Fry: Who went with you to Washington to talk to La Follette?

Haggerty: The secretary of the central labor council named Buzzell. He was secretary, at that time, of the Los Angeles central labor council.

Fry: It was just you two?

Haggerty: Just the two of us, yes.

Fry: Later on did you testify when La Follette came out?

Haggerty: I've forgotten now whether I testified or not. I don't think I did. I don't remember doing it. Buzzell either.

We couldn't get the information and evidence which they could get. They have their own investigators, which they always do have. Whatever was developed, they developed themselves. Whatever we had, of course, we gave them. But I don't recall it being too much. They developed more.

There was a very insulting attitude of the witnesses that they [the committee] were questioning, because they [the witnesses] were all unfriendly to labor. That meant that they were unfriendly to the committee. They were so disdainful of the committee, and just didn't have much respect for it as a committee of congress. So, that's the story there. I'm hazy on what finally happened. I know they did finally make a report.

Fry: I was wondering if this helped you any in organization efforts in the building trades in Los Angeles?

Haggerty: No, I don't think it did, because the building trades contractors were not so much involved in this as other employers were, manufacturing employers and stuff of that sort. No, there wasn't too much of that. Again, I'm kind of hazy about it. There wasn't too much done by general contractors. Oh, there was one or two who testified, of course, but not this concentrated, powerful drive that they were doing with the other groups coming out of large corporations.

Haggerty: I think that's one of the reasons why they organized Town Hall. I don't know, but some of the people were a little bit disgusted with the way things were going in the testimony which was brought out, and the disdainful manner in which the witnesses were treating the committee.

Fry: They saw Town Hall as a way to--

Haggerty: No, I don't know. I'm just wondering what made Dave Babcock and these other men, who had the copyright to the name, put it to use.

Of course, it being a--what's the right word for it?-- a free forum affair, he invited all kinds of people. He invited labor and anti-labor and educational people. All in all it was a free forum place where speakers and questions [of all kinds could be heard]. I'd say it was on the order of what the Commonwealth Club is in San Francisco. This was, I'd say, the Commonwealth Club of Southern California. It didn't reach out for the prominent speakers that the Commonwealth Club did, but it got some pretty high class speakers.

Fry: Knowledgeable ones.

Haggerty: Yes. The Commonwealth Club, of course, is noted for the class of people it invites. Free forum speeches and questions and answers.

Fry: Yes, I think it uses the "top dog."

Haggerty: Yes. I think every president for the last number of years has addressed the Commonwealth Club. That isn't true of the Town Hall.

Fry: But Town Hall did allow communication from both the Merchants and Manufacturers crowd and labor, the whole spectrum.

Haggerty: Yes. It was pretty democratic in that respect. Questions were asked from the floor. Debate was indulged in that respect. There wasn't supposed to be a debate, but it automatically would become one.

The Campaign Against Proposition One

- Fry: Shortly after that you had the 1938 elections when Earl Warren was running for attorney general and Culbert Olson was running for governor, and on that same ballot there was an anti-picketing initiative, Proposition One.
- Haggerty: That was in the city of Los Angeles?
- Fry: No, on the state ballot. Apparently this brought out the labor vote. That was the same ballot that had the "Ham and Eggs" initiative. Do you remember that anti-picketing measure?
- Haggerty: Not too much. What happened to the anti-picketing initiative?
- Fry: I don't think it passed. I thought maybe this was one reason why Olson got in because that would have brought out such a big labor vote.
- Haggerty: Well, it could very well be. At that time, of course, you had all the old pensioners and that sort of thing. Olson was their champion. But later on, of course, Sheridan Downey came in. He became their champion. Olson was, at that time, the outstanding liberal I guess, or radical if you will, but I called him a liberal at that time. He was very friendly to labor. He was in the state senate, if I recall correctly. Wasn't he?
- Fry: Yes.
- Haggerty: In '38 I would be right in the middle of the Proposition One battle, being with the state federation as president, in the way of working and talking and all that, but I don't remember it clearly.

Tom Mooney

- Fry: Well, I see how you couldn't. It's really hard to remember all these propositions after you have had so many more that you worked on so hard.

Fry: Right after that, Olson took office, and you remember one of his first acts was publicly to pardon Tom Mooney.

Haggerty: Yes.

Fry: Now, what do you remember about that Mooney thing? Were you in a position to press for this, or to take a position on it?

Haggerty: All the old AFL unions and the councils had been pushing for Tom Mooney's release for many years, Mooney and Billings. For the outright liberal, Billings was more or less forgotten about and set aside. The grandest figure was Mooney. He was the one who got most attention. The little fellow, Billings, just died about six months ago. [Olson] pardoned Mooney, but didn't do a thing for Billings.

A lot of people were disturbed about it. Tom, of course, was a bit of an actor, a melodramatic sort of person. I understand that in jail he was noted for his dramatics.

He kept a check book in jail and he wrote checks from there. He had that privilege, to keep his cause going, you see.

I didn't know Tom Mooney, I just knew of him. When he got out, why, he came down to Los Angeles to address a mass meeting in the Coliseum. Some of his friends tried to tell him that he would get only a handful of people. He said, "You don't know what you are talking about. I'm Tom Mooney." That was like saying, "I'm God," from his point of view. He was--oh, I'm trying to find the proper phrase for Tom. (I'm not thinking this morning.) He was very dramatic in all the things he did.

Fry: Flamboyant?

Haggerty: Well, flamboyant is one thing, but--"super-egoist." I found out that none of our leaders were going to meet him at the airport.

We had spent millions of dollars on Tom Mooney's cause. The first memory I have of Tom Mooney was that I gave a dollar to the cause in the union when I was a kid in Boston. They were collecting money for Tom Mooney. I think I was getting nine dollars a week and I gave a dollar into that pot for Tom Mooney.

Haggerty: All through the years, as time went on and all of the publicity was brought out, and so forth, the federations and the convention always kept their actions away from the Communist leadership, who always used to use Mooney as the symbol and were always out in front to free Tom Mooney.

In this case, our people said, "To hell with it. We're not going to bother about him." He was coming down on a Sunday.

Fry: Why?

Haggerty: Well, because they felt that the Communists had taken him over. We didn't want to be mixed up in that mess at all.

Fry: And was this also the CIO?

Haggerty: Well, the CIO was just coming in. They didn't amount to much at that time. They were coming along. No, it was more or less the ultra-liberal groups, some in the union and some out of the union. It was not the entire union movement.

In order not to be pushed behind in all the money and time we had spent on Tom Mooney, I made up my mind that I was going to be there when he came to Los Angeles by plane. It was a charter plane which the boys hired, the CIO and the longshoremen, Harry Bridges, and all that group. There was just a few of us from the Los Angeles movement who decided to be in the delegation to meet him, and we did. I met him and rode in the car with him from the landing field in the civil airport with Slim--later on became well-known as a Communist--Connelly. Slim Connelly was at that time a writer and a newspaper man, and the head of the Communist group in the CIO in Southern California.

So, we went to the hotel on Hill Street, or anyway a downtown hotel. I think it was the Park Hotel on Hill Street, opposite Pershing Square. Tom wanted to change his clothes. We were cold. It was a foggy morning. He said to the driver, who was a well known ultra-radical--I think probably from the Communist Party, too. He was an actor. (I can't say his name.) The driver said, "We will go along River Road. It is a short cut to downtown."

Tom said, "Oh, no. I must go through the main business sections of Glendale. People are waiting for me. They want to see me." One of the boys said, "Well, Tom. This is Sunday

Haggerty: morning. It's a miserable morning. There wouldn't be a corporal's guard on the sidewalk waiting to see you or anybody else." "Oh, no, [Tom said.]

So, we went through the main street and the gentleman, whoever he was, was right. There wasn't a corporal's guard. There was a handful of people once in a while on the street corners. So Tom's reception in Los Angeles wasn't any great bust.

Then we got to the hotel, and again, indicating how arrogant he was, they said, "Now, we're due to leave here at such-a-time to go to the Coliseum to make the speech and to have Tom welcomed and so forth." They said to Tom, "Will you be ready?" He said, "Oh, no. I'm going to take a hot bath and lie down." They said to him, "There's people out there waiting for you." He said, "They're my people. They'll wait."

That's what happened. And they did wait. There weren't too many of them there, though.

What I wanted to be there for was to say that the building trades council and the state federation of labor, who had done so much over all these years, spent so much money and time and effort, were happy to have been a part of welcoming Tom Mooney. That was my speech.

Fry: How was Mooney's speech? Do you remember?

Haggerty: No. Mooney never was a labor leader, you see. It was just an accident. He went someplace once, and it happened, I guess.

Fry: I wanted to know too if you just happened to have been in the controversy that surrounded the George Alberts case, when George Alberts was killed aboard the S.S. Point Lobos in Oakland and this was considered a--

[Interruption]

Haggerty: No, See, I was in Los Angeles. My headquarters was there. I didn't go on the payroll of the federation until the secretary, Vandeleur, passed away. Then I became its salaried executive officer.

Haggerty: The Point Lobos thing--I was not familiar with it and didn't know much about it. I couldn't even answer an intelligent question.

[Interruption]

Labor and the Japanese-American Relocation

Fry: When you were still president of the state federation of labor the war broke out and then there was, almost immediately, the Japanese relocation order. I'm wondering what, if any, was the role and the attitude of the federation at that time, toward the Japanese.

Haggerty: I became secretary [-treasurer of the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor] right in the middle of the war, in '43. At that time I took a reduction in salary. I had worked for the building trades in Los Angeles for nothing; they didn't have any money. But we finally got so that we got a little affluent. The building trades got some money and they gave me a good salary. In fact, I think it was probably about ten thousand dollars, which was not a bad salary at that time. When [Edward] Vanderleur died, I took the state secretaryship for three months while they tried to find somebody else, and I kept it for a number of years, as you know. I took a reduction in salary. The secretary's salary in the state federation was \$6,000 and I was getting ten. But I stayed there. When the war was over, of course, they did very well by me.

You see, we couldn't hold a convention. During the war all conventions were taboo by the government. The constitution of the state federation had to be complied with, and therefore it would only raise salaries at a convention. We couldn't have a convention; therefore, there were no salaries raised. But we only had one paid officer anyway and that was the secretary.

That's just incidental.

Fry: I think that maybe it was the farm labor unions that were concerned about Japanese evacuation. But, one of the things I'm trying to document is the general attitudes towards Japanese at that time.

[Interruption]

Fry: I was just wondering if you remembered any reactions to the Japanese relocation order.

Haggerty: No. I don't. I'd be guessing too much. The Japanese evacuation order and the putting of them behind fences, I don't remember what it was about. I imagine that we took some position. We had to.

Fry: Traditionally the labor federation, of course, had taken the stand against Japanese immigration because of the competition with the labor force.

Haggerty: Yes. Of course for years, the federation under Paul Scharrenberg, who was the secretary--just recently passed away--always had the Japanese exclusion act. They had that in the law for years. But later on the federation, I think, as it broadened out in its viewpoint about things of that sort, abolished that. I think that was repealed from the statutes with our help. Of course, the old Japanese exclusion act was put in during the days of the railroads I guess, because if some of them came in and took the jobs, there were fights and that sort of business.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE
FEDERATION OF LABOR

Fry: Then you became executive secretary right at the beginning of 1943. Was it at the beginning?

Haggerty: I think so.

Relations with Earl Warren

Fry: In other words, you went into that position at about the same time Earl Warren became governor.

Haggerty: [When] he was a candidate for governor.

Fry: Oh, then?

Haggerty: He was the candidate and I was the secretary of the federation. That's right. [It was] when he announced against Olson for governor.

Fry: That would have been, then, in '42, because the election was in November of 1942.

Haggerty: I was a member of the advisory council of the state department of employment. They had at that time a five-man tripartite advisory council that operated the department, which was abolished some years after that. We used to meet every quarter. That's when the Warren and Olson campaign was on, during that time.

Fry: I see. Warren was still attorney general. Was he on that committee, too?

Haggerty: No, the attorney general was not a part of that. You see, they had legal talent--I've forgotten who it was, now--who was counsel to the committee.

Fry: So, you campaigned, actually, against Warren.

The annual report of the federation mentions that you got together a group that went in to see Governor Warren about labor legislation. This was composed not only of labor, but also of management, and you were trying to call for a moratorium on highly controversial legislation during the war. Do you remember that?

Haggerty: When he was running for governor, frankly, I think that I opposed him only because the federation had officially endorsed Olson for re-election. Being its spokesman, of course, I had to speak for Olson and against Warren. Likewise, there was a senator--J.C. Garrison, I think his name was--who was in the running for lieutenant governor, a candidate for that Democratic group.

But--I'm trying to remember now--I made one speech against Warren, I think. It was a very poor speech, written in a hurry. I never saw it before. They handed it to me. Somebody had opted out of making the speech, so it was hanging in mid-air. Time had been contracted for it and all that sort of business, so I sort of filled in on a moment's notice. It was a very poor speech. The material in the speech was poor. I delivered it for them. All in all it was a bad speech.

Haggerty: But, anyway, our [state labor] convention came on about that time. Warren used to address our convention as attorney general, and before that as district attorney of Alameda County and generally was very friendly with a lot of our people. He was invited to address the convention, which was held, I think, in Bakersfield.

Fry: His old home town.

Haggerty: Yes. Then something happened--oh yes. He sent Leo Carrillo and Leo came in to represent the governor. He was running for re-election. Let's see now. He came in--

Fry: In '42.

Haggerty: Yes. This must have been '46.

Fry: Labor was behind him in '46.

Haggerty: No. This must have been '42 when he couldn't get [to our convention]. He used to address our conventions as attorney general. I worked with him in Legion circles.

Fry: American Legion?

Haggerty: Yes. We usually had a pretty good rapport.

But I'm just trying to tie this thing together. He couldn't keep the appointment he made to address this convention. Leo Carrillo came down in his place. I told Leo that we'd be glad to have him speak, but not speak in behalf of Warren's candidacy. He was there, not as a candidate; he was there as a public official and that if he wanted to represent a public official he should speak as such and not bring in politics. Perhaps it wasn't a political year. But anyway, somehow word got back to Warren, distorted and twisted as it was.

I had been appointed by Olson to the only paid job that I ever held in this state, I guess, member of the personnel board. Of course, I had not been confirmed by the senate. I didn't want it. I advised the executive council that they ought to get somebody else. I had more than I could take. I didn't know the job paid an emolument until it came out in the newspaper that I had been appointed as a member of the state personnel board and it paid \$300 a month. I called up the--what was his name? He was secretary of the board. I said

LEADERS for WARREN

Susan Adams
Ernest Aronson
Robert S. Ash
Joseph P. Bailey
James L. Bartlett
W. J. Bassett
K. G. Bitter
James Blackburn
Lily Bone
Roy Brewer
Edward Brown
E. L. Brown
Paul E. Burg
C. H. Carey
Joe D. Chaudet
F. C. Chesebro
Ralph Clare
Charles D. Clark
Al Cien
Harold L. Cody
Joe Combiano
Alice M. Dahlquist
John Dalton
Pat Devlin
F. M. Engle
George E. Ellicott
Maud M. Emery
Avis Ethridge
Harry Finks
Dan Flanagan
Robert Gearhardt
Archie Goodman
C. A. Green
Albin J. Gruhn
C. J. Haggerty
George Hammond
James T. Harvey
Jimmie Hicks
J. L. Hogg
Capt. W. C. Jackson
Elizabeth Kelley
Al King
Geo. Kisling
Harold Kneis
Michael H. Kunz

Edgar Lanipton
Raymond F. Leheney
Harold R. Lonnberg
Harry Lundeberg
C. T. Lehmann
Capt. C. F. May
John Lyons
Lloyd Mashburn
Daniel Y. Lynch
Joseph S. Mazza
Harry MacDonald
H. E. McCormick
C. G. McKnight
Ed McLaughlin
E. E. Meecham
Myrtle A. Mooney
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Paul Scharrenberg
Max Silverstein
John H. Smith
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Mae Stoneman
John J. Sweeney
Mrs. Mary Walker
Alexander Watchman
James Waugh
Wm. G. Welt
Lew Willits
Rolland W. Young

★

Organized Labor Committee
WARREN FOR GOVERNOR

345 Powell Street

San Francisco

Garfield 0409

30

1946

ONE MILLION STRONG
(A. F. of L.)
LABOR
ENDORSES



EARL WARREN
FOR
GOVERNOR



ON HIS RECORD

a friend

of LABOR

Governor Warren is a proven friend of Labor. He sponsored measures to help the laboring man and woman. On occasions he rolled up his sleeves and fought for the protection and improvement of our working and living conditions. He has shown conclusively that he understands the rights and problems of the worker.

★ Labor, one-million strong, has endorsed Governor Warren for re-election. This is the positive vote in open meeting of 200 delegates of central labor councils and craft councils to a session of the California State Federation of Labor. It is Labor's response to a proven friend of Labor.

★ Organized labor first began to appreciate Warren's friendship early in the war. We merely asked for fair play. Governor Warren responded with firm support for labor's wartime program. He eliminated unfair legislation and voiced probably the strongest single opposition to Proposition No. 12.

Let us examine the high points of Governor Warren's record.

★ **Disability Insurance** — Governor Warren in special session of the legislature sponsored and fought for enactment of disability insurance which without additional tax on worker or employer grants benefit payments of \$20.00 per week to workers whose unemployment is caused by illness of non-industrial accidents.

★ **Unemployment Insurance** — Advocated broadening of the State Unemployment Insurance system . . . reduced waiting period from two to one week . . . extended benefits to employees in small business . . . increased payments from \$18 to \$20 a week.

★ **Workmen's Compensation** — Increased from \$25 to \$30 per week.

★ **State Industrial Relations Department** — Sponsored program for rebuilding Department of Industrial Relations, enabling it to provide a service for the worker in fields of industrial safety, working conditions and compensation claims.

★ **Housing** — Called special session of Legislature which appropriated 7½ million dollars for emergency housing.

★ **Veterans** — Reorganized Department of Veterans' Affairs . . . supported bond issue of \$100,000,000 for veteran welfare . . . obtained reduction from 5% to 3% on the interest rate on loans.

★ **Child Welfare and Pensions** — Continued child care centers after withdrawal of federal support . . . obtained increase from \$40 to \$50 per month in old age pensions.

★ **Sales and Income Taxes** — Reduced general state taxes, including those of special significance to workers—sales and income tax.

★ **Teachers' Salaries** — Advocated and won two increases in minimum salaries to a present \$1800 a year.

Haggerty: to him, "Is that an error?" He said, "No. At the last session, the legislature did increase expenses to a salary of \$300 and expenses." I said, "That's fine. I'll pay off my house. I didn't know about that." I was buying a home in Los Angeles. I was kidding about it, but kidding in earnest, of course. The result was that I began to benefit by it.

Fry: The senate did okay you then?

Haggerty: No. This was in between sessions, when this took place. They weren't in session. Warren didn't send my name in. This is the thing that I'm trying to tie together. When the election was over--it must have been '42, because word came to me that Warren was extremely angry at me, and had no use for me and didn't want any part of me. I had known him for a long [time]; we had been on friendly terms. We did differ on Olson, because, while Olson wasn't the man that Warren ever was, he was very friendly to labor and labor's great friend, always. Labor legislation, Olson did all he could, which wasn't too much. He didn't have enough in the senate or in the assembly.

When I heard that there had been a statement like that by Warren, I wanted to know why. I called up and asked if I could come to see him, and he said, "Sure, come on right over." I was across the street in the Senator Hotel.

I came over to him and I said, "I just wanted to get something straightened out. It's a known fact, and I make no apology for it, I did not support you during this recent campaign. If that's the reason I'm told you're very angry with me, I can't help it. But now you are the governor, not because of me, but probably in spite of me and many others, and you're my governor and I intend to work with you. I'm told you're very angry with me. We can differ, I hope, on basic issues, but I didn't know you were angry with me until I was told that you were looking to get ahold of me and do something about it, one time or another. Could you tell me what I've done to make you so angry?"

He said, "Well, yes. I was told that when I couldn't get to the convention in Bakersfield that you made the statement that I didn't have the nerve to come and face the delegates at a convention."

Haggerty: I said, "Did that come from Leo Carrillo?" He said, "No." I said, "Because here is what I told Leo," and I repeated it to him. He said, "No, Leo didn't say that." I said, "Well, let me say this to you. It is a colossal lie. It hasn't got the slightest bit of truth to it; something I never said and never would say. I never questioned your courage at any time and wouldn't today. Whoever said that is deliberately lying." Then I found later on it was three of my best friends looking for the job of personnel board member. I didn't realize that at the time, you see.

So, I said, "Now I hope that--"

Fry: Did Warren tell you that?

Haggerty: No.

Fry: Oh. You found this out from other sources.

Haggerty: Yes. Some of my very good friends, who were Republicans, by the way, labor leaders, labor officials.

I said to him, "Now, you're the governor. I'd like to be able to help. We've been friends for a long time. We've differed on this one. I wouldn't apologize for it. We supported a man who supported us; there was some question about some of the things that you stood for."

He said, "Well, let me say this to you. If you tell me that's a lie, I'll believe it explicitly, because I know you wouldn't do otherwise."

I said, "It was completely untrue, has no basis in fact at all. I wouldn't want to have this door closed to me because of a wrong thing that didn't occur."

He said, "Well, as far as we're concerned, that door is opened to you at any time at all. Any time you have something on your mind you're entirely welcome to come and talk to me about it. By the way, I would like to have information as to what your program is for this coming session."

I said, "I would be happy to mail it to you. I'll send it to you. Suppose I leave it with your secretary," who was Bill Sweigert. He's judge now.

Haggerty:

He said, "Leave it on Bill's desk. We'll get ahold of it and talk about it. After I see it, maybe I'd like to talk to you. I'm interested in workmen's compensation, things of that sort."

I said, "Well, we have quite a program. There's been a long time since there's been adjustment on workmen's compensation benefits. We need help and we'd appreciate your help if we could get it."

He said, "Well, let me see what you've got." (We gave him the bill, and that passed.)

I said, "By the way, I'd assume that you'd like to have that position which I now hold as personnel board member. Anytime you'd want it, I'd be glad to write a resignation out. I'll leave it on your desk at your pleasure."

He said, "Yes. I think I'd like to have it. I have candidates for that position and I think I'd like to have it. I'll let you know when to write your resignation."

The time passed and I did write it out and did resign as a member of the personnel board. It wasn't so much the \$300, although it was helpful at that time. It was the fact that that was very important to the state employees. That's the board that fixed their wages, adjustments, and so forth. It was important from that point of view.

Anyway, I think he appointed a fellow who is probably still there, Bob Ash. He appointed a trade unionist. Bob had supported him when nobody else was supporting him. No, I'm not sure that he appointed Bob Ash. After Warren, who became governor? Goody Knight? Oh, Pat Brown. I don't want you to get that wrong in your records. Warren did not appoint Bob Ash.

Fry:

When you became executive secretary-treasurer, I wonder about Lundeberg's position, because on the records he said that he wanted you to take office immediately. The office was vacated in early October. There was apparently no argument on the fact that you were the obvious man for the job, but there was argument about when you should take office. They were having a meeting in December and everyone assumed you'd take office then. Lundeberg said, "No, I want him to take office now," and when you didn't, he nominated C. T. Lehmann.

Haggerty: Well, yes. I didn't want the job, to begin with.

Fry: You didn't?

Haggerty: I wanted to stay in Los Angeles. I thought I was doing some good down there and I could still be president without compensation. All of a sudden, they asked me if I would take it, and I said, "No, I won't take it." A lot of them tried to convince me to do it and I said, "No. I will take it for a period of three months," at which time we'd look around-- This is during a board meeting, because the board could appoint to fill the vacancy. The result was that I said, "I'll take it for a period of three months, during which time we'll look around and find somebody."

Well, the only one that nominations were made for was Chris Lehmann, one of my very close friends. He is still alive and retired. He and Harry [Lundeberg] were very close friends. Chris would never accept the thing if I was going to stay and take it.

Fry: He declined?

Haggerty: Oh, yes. (I'm taking your records for this, because my memory is not too clear.)

Legislation Work

[A few lines of Mr. Haggerty's comments at this point were inadvertently not recorded while the tape was being turned over.]

[Mr. Haggerty began a discussion of labor's lobbying activities in Sacramento, in the 1940s. A bill he particularly remembered would have required railroad workers' injury cases to be tried in the nearest federal court. This was in the interest of railroad management, who wanted to remove the cases from big city courts, where settlements were large, to rural courts.]

Haggerty: There was an attorney--I can't remember his name--who handled a lot of injured railroad employees' cases. These cases could be brought by direct suit against the railroad, I guess. I didn't know the law about that, but I knew that the very

Haggerty: idea of bringing a suit for injury in a town like Rhyolite or Elko, Nevada, some place like that, was ridiculous. All of these cases up to that time were brought in the San Francisco region where you had, of course, top judges, and so forth. They weren't controlled by anybody.

This bill was designed to prevent him and his kind of attorney from being able to get such good settlements in the big cities. I thought the bill was a very unfair bill. We asked the [railroad] brotherhoods why they didn't oppose it. They didn't answer us.

I said, "What about this bill?" He said, "It isn't our business, but it's a bad bill."

So, I said, "Bad bills we oppose."

He said, "I know you do. That's right." So, he explained it to me. I said, "Now, we will not be heard on the bill. I wouldn't testify, as long as the brotherhoods, who are ones that are affected by this, as long as they're not opposing it. We'll descend on the governor when the bill gets to him."

There was a system in effect--I guess it still is--I don't know how this governor [Reagan]--but Olson, whom I had contact with, and Warren and Goody Knight, they sent a form memorandum to us on all measures affecting the worker.

Fry: Their office did?

Haggerty: Yes. Before the governor signed it. It was a copy sent to us. Every day we would go see what came from the capitol. They'd send send similar [ones] to the opponents of the bill, I assume.

Fry: Did he do this with all of the other groups, too?

Haggerty: As far as I know. I don't know. There were certain groups that he may have picked out to do it. We wrote a long letter on this [railroad injury cases] bill. Well, it passed. It passed twice, by the way. You see the power it had. In the first instance, it had a flaw in the title, and Warren wouldn't sign it or agree to it. He had to go away [on a trip] wherever it was. He was gone [out of the state] quite a while. The bill went through again the second time, with the flaw corrected and no longer in the thing.

Haggerty: When we got the bill, our attorney wrote a strong letter pointing out the unfairness of the bill, and so forth, to Knight [the lieutenant governor, who was acting as governor]. We thought, well, that's that. We didn't think that Goody was going to be too good for us, because he seemed to think that he was naturally one of the other type of person, not pro-labor. He called me; I got a phone call from him. He said, "Can you come over?" I said, "Sure."

He said, "I've been reading that bill that you wrote about and also I read your letter. I'm inclined to agree with you completely. I know the power behind it, but it's a bill that a good lawyer, I'm sure, couldn't sign, and I think I'm a pretty good lawyer, and I couldn't sign such a measure."

I said, "Do you realize what's going to happen?"

He said, "Oh, yes. I'm fully cognizant of the proponents of the measure and the weight behind it. In fact, I'm feeling it already. But that still doesn't let me as a lawyer sign a bad piece of legislation." The result was that he didn't sign it. He must have caught holy hell, I don't know. I thought to myself, "This man has got something. He's not just the sort of a guy we thought he was."

Later on, he said, "Do you do this all the time?" I said, "Yes. We write either pro or con. Any bill which passes and goes to your desk, if it's something which affects the working man, the wage earner, we will write on it. We will either ask you to sign it or to veto it or do something else with it if it's going to be something which concerns the worker."

He said, "I would appreciate receiving your attitude in the matter." I said, "We've done this all the time, ever since I've been here, with all governors, including Earl Warren." He said, "Did you write to him about this?" I said, "No, we didn't get a chance to because we didn't get the form." He said, "There's a form that goes out?" I said, "A form goes out regularly. If it's something we're not concerned about, we just file it as a communication from the governor's office. But if it's something that we think is going to affect the worker directly or indirectly, we comment on it."

Fry: So, this gave you an indication--

Haggerty: Yes, that plus his attitude on unemployment compensation and what he did there for us, his belief in the whole thing. The man was much deeper than a lot of us thought he was. He wasn't reaching, I don't think, so much for support, because we never had supported him, but when it came to unemployment compensation and workers compensation, he had, it seemed to me, as deep a feeling as did Governor Warren, who was very much concerned about that. He thought there were basic laws for the protection of the worker.

He knew that the farmer was strongly opposed to them; in fact the whole anti-labor lobby was. We used to call it the "combined lobby" in Sacramento. They met regularly, about every Tuesday, I think, this anti-labor lobby.

Fry: Made up of whom?

Haggerty: All of the various interests, like the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers, the Associated Farmers, retail stores--oh gracious, that's only part of it. They were always either pro or con. They were pro for anti-labor legislation, and con against pro-labor legislation.

Fry: Pretty consistently, I guess.

Haggerty: That's what they were paid for. They used to meet regularly on Tuesday or Wednesday, I think, and develop their forces. I suppose they would say to you, "Mary, you know Assemblyman So-and-so, he's yours. You talk to him and see if you can get him to go along with this." To somebody else they would say, "Johnny, you know Assemblyman So-and-so, he's yours. I'll take So-and-so." Well, they covered the bases that way.

Fry: Was this primarily for anti-labor, or did they do this for any issues that they wanted to combine on?

Haggerty: I would say mostly for anti-labor issues. Now, of course, if they had some other interests, they would combine together, I suppose, to help each other on that. Once in a while they would differ among themselves, in the family. But it was a potent organization.

I used to stand outside the old assembly door all by myself and talk to the members of the assembly as they came in. There would be a line of maybe fifteen anti-labor lobbyists, and me on one side by myself, talking to them as they came in. Sometimes we did pretty good. It was kind of

Haggerty: hard on the arches and the thighs. That's a hard floor, that marble floor.

Fry: [Laughter] Yes, it is. Did you have any other lobbyists that sometimes helped you?

Haggerty: Oh, yes. Of course, we had our attorney, Charlie Scully, who is still there; and Tom Pitts, who has taken my place, is there now.

Fry: Well, I meant from other interests.

Haggerty: Oh, other interests with us generally?

Fry: Yes.

Haggerty: The railroads--I won't comment on them, it's past and gone. The brotherhoods would have representatives around there, but they were not organized into an efficient, fighting organization.

Fry: Would you say that these names that I have listed here, were these unions a part of the state federation of labor who simply sent their men up there, or were they separate from the federation?

Haggerty: [Referring to interviewer's list] Painters--well, they would come when there was a bill that they thought affected them. Then they would have a man come up. Sometimes we would write to all of our unions and ask them to send a representative up to center on [legislature] members.

The Musicians' [Union] didn't have any lobbyists.

Railroad brotherhoods--about eight or ten people around there but there wasn't much [activity] there.

Walter Pierce of the Barbers' Union--if there was a bill on barber legislation--and there always was a bill--he'd come up on that. Of course, we worked on all these bills. We would handle--and I guess Tom Pitts still does--they'd introduce into the hopper about 5,700 bills a year, a session, out of which we'd have to look at each one. Anything that affected labor pro or con, we would put it in the file and have it digested by our attorney or by our clerks and so forth, and put it in the filing cabinet and watch it every day to see if we were going to be heard by the committee.

Haggerty: Each morning, we'd take [the current bills] out of the files. They put out a paper that shows what bills are being heard that morning by what committee. That's where we'd go.

I would say that there were very few committees in which we didn't have some bills in which we were interested, either pro or con, very few, very seldom, even though it was sometimes just to watch it. A bill may look innocuous on its face, but the simple addition of one word or a sentence changes the whole intent of the bill.

[Referring to interviewer's list] Let's see. Jimmy Anderson came up on cases. He's a colored boy. He's a good man.

Fry: He was from what union?

Haggerty: Dining Car Cooks and Waiters.

Frank McDonald. Frank has been dead for goodness knows how many years. Yes, he came up for the state building trades council. He was a great orator. He would come up and make his speech and that would be that. Speeches didn't stop bills or pass bills.

John O'Connell. God bless him. He would come up. He had friends. He was secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, one of the most popular men in the movement. He was born and raised in, I think, either Ireland or San Francisco. He had a little brogue. He had the sharpest wit of any man I ever knew and the sharpest tongue.

Fred Williamson was employed by the teamsters for a while. He was a member of the assembly. He had some work up there. But later on the teamsters put a full-time man in and a full-time office. I think they keep it open all year around in the Hotel Senator. I guess it's still there. Their man--I don't know his name either. Maybe he wasn't in during the time you speak of, '43? No, he wasn't in that era. Ron Cannon is the teamster man now, and he has with him a couple of people to help him all the time. He's got a full-time force up there now. Maybe at this time--I don't think he did have; you're talking about '43. All these people had to do with legislation, in some way or the other.

[Referring to interview outline] "Unemployment insurance--fifty bad bills here."

Fry: According to your legislative report that year, five of the bad ones Warren vetoed.

Haggerty: He would hold hearings on some of these bills, which was unusual for a governor.

Fry: Warren would hold hearings?

Haggerty: Oh, sure, he'd call in both sides once in a while and say, "What about this now? How bad is this," and so forth?

Of course, sometimes he couldn't do it; the bill was too hot. But if there was some chance of working out a good bill for the interest of the people, that was his concern. He was honestly concerned about it.

Fry: I must confess to you that it's ten minutes to twelve and you told me that you wanted to stop at eleven-thirty.

Haggerty: Yes, so I'm going to quit, if you can tie it up now, someplace.

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REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Fifty-Fifth Session, California Legislature

January 4-31 and March 8-May 5, 1943

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the first session of the Fifty-fifth California State Legislature met, our former Secretary, Brother Edward D. Vandeleur, had been seriously incapacitated by illness. Having assumed the Secretaryship during his absence, the full responsibility of acting as your legislative representative therefore fell on me. Because, as President of the Federation, I had maintained the closest contact with this phase of the Federation's activities, I had the consolation of entering a field in which I was at least qualified by past experience. It was with grave apprehension, nevertheless, that the Federation and the entire organized labor movement in the State faced the Fifty-fifth Session of the California State Legislature.

There was sufficient foundation for these fears. The Governor endorsed and supported by the Federation had been defeated. The vote favoring the Slave Bill had carried, and throughout the entire country an anti-labor campaign was being fanned furiously by the most influential reactionary interests. In such a setting the prospects for labor appeared discouragingly dismal. A terrific battle loomed ahead, with the cards apparently stacked against labor. This was the atmosphere and what appeared to be the situation following the November election of last year, and preceding the convening of the State Legislature.

Complicating the picture was the need of continuing our unstinting and sacrificing support of our tremendous war effort. Labor still had enormous responsibilities to fulfill, and being keenly mindful of them, was determined not to be goaded into any action that would in any way interfere with this war effort. An inspiring record had been established by labor in this State, and in the country as a whole. The Federation was proud of that record and resolute

in its decision not to have it sullied. A prodigious problem faced the Federation, which was of a two-fold nature: first, to perpetuate the constructive policy in support of the war effort, and, second, to preserve labor's rights at Sacramento. Such unprecedented circumstances dictated the urgent need of careful deliberation and thought on the part of labor in the planning of its strategy.

In a number of election contests, the Federation had participated to support its deserving friends, and was obligated to endorse candidates regardless of personal likes and dislikes. This only further contributed to the usual amount of animosity and friction that ordinarily is generated by an election.

Labor in California was at the crossroads. After carefully analyzing the full implications of the unpleasant predicament we were in, I recommended, as your Acting Secretary and Legislative Representative, that the Executive Council appoint a Legislative Committee. This was carried out, and Vice-Presidents Real, Bitter, Wayne, and Bilger were placed on the committee. We decided that labor would stand on its war record and appeal to the responsible elements to subordinate all factional considerations to the main concern of winning the war. We were confident that the initiation of such a policy would isolate the selfish, anti-labor die-hards, and place the Federation in a favorable position.

Prior to this time, Vice-President Real and I had a special conference with the Governor and Senator Breed. We explained our plan, and expressed our determination to follow it. The Governor's reception of the plan was excellent. The Governor had publicly announced that the Fifty-fifth Session of the State Legislature should confine itself as much as possible to the war effort, which was paramount, and urged the elimination of all secondary and controversial matters. Since this policy coincided completely with ours, we were extremely happy to find

the Governor in such a state of mind, and the policy was endorsed by the Executive Council.

A meeting was held at Sacramento at the start of the first session of the Legislature, in which the principal representatives of the employers and labor participated. The meeting conferred upon me the honor of serving as Chairman, and I proceeded to explain the policy outlined above to the assembled representatives. We made it quite plain that as far as labor was concerned, it was eager to eliminate all ignominious controversial legislation, and to this end we were prepared to refrain from introducing a number of bills which might be of a controversial nature, if the employers were ready to do likewise. It was pointed out, of course, that a certain number of bills would have to be submitted for consideration by the Legislature, but that these were of such a character that they could not possibly be classified as objectionable. We urged upon the employer representatives that if they would agree to such a stipulation, it would save a great deal of valuable time and energy, and minimize the danger of an unhealthy atmosphere developing. Practically all the employer representatives who participated in the discussion expressed general concurrence with the position taken by the Federation, but since they were not aware of what bills would be introduced, they could not commit themselves until they had an opportunity to examine them. The meeting decided that a committee consisting of representatives of labor and employers' organizations be elected by each side, to act as a screening committee for the type of legislation already discussed. Later, your Legislative Committee, together with your Legislative Representative, met and after a consultation with all interested parties, prepared and submitted all constructive bills mandated by action of the two conventions which had been held by the Federation in the interval that had elapsed between the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Sessions of the Legislature, as well as by action taken by a number of unions, and those bills which the Federation, itself, considered important for labor.

The Research Department of the Federation was instructed to begin the analysis and classification of all the bills which had been submitted and which would be thrown in the hopper in the course of time. This was a tremendous job. In all, 3,121 bills were introduced in both houses, exclusive of resolutions

and constitutional amendments, and of this number, 370 bills were classified, analyzed and prepared for printing. This analysis was sent to all the unions and all other interested organizations and parties concerned.

Prior to the convening of the second session of the Legislature in March, it was the joint opinion of Brother Vandeleur and myself that, because of the unusual circumstances involved, it would be necessary to organize the Federation's lobby in Sacramento on a more elaborate scale in order to safeguard our interests. In the interim we tried to vitalize our policy through contacting representatives of the employers, members of the Legislature in both houses, and labor officials. At least, we were satisfied that, come what might, the Federation was prepared to meet all eventualities and would give a good account of itself at Sacramento.

When the session convened, headquarters were opened at the Hotel Senator and a technical staff of three was maintained throughout the session. In addition to this technical personnel, the Federation employed on a full-time basis Elmer Lore, former Assemblyman from Los Angeles, to help in the lobbying work. Toward the end of the session, Mr. Joe Mathews was employed for a short time in a similar capacity.

During the entire session the members of the Legislative Committee rendered valuable assistance and made possible the successful outcome of the Fifty-fifth Session of the Legislature. I am referring to Vice-Presidents Real, Bitter, Bilger, and Wayne. For short periods Brother Noonan, Secretary of the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council, helped out considerably.

Outstanding among those who did yeoman service in helping to put over labor's program were Brother Jack Shelley, State Senator; Assemblymen Maloney and Lyons, and several others. Others who share in the responsibility for the gratifying results achieved are representatives of the various unions, such as Vice-President James Waugh, Tom Meagher, International Representative of the Painters; Al Greenbaum, of the Musicians, Brothers Welt, Roberts and Reynolds and others of the Railroad Brotherhoods, Walter Pierce of the Barbers, James Anderson of the Dining Car Waiters, and many others whose names are not recollectable at this moment.

I do wish to say that there were numerous representatives present, all of whom did excellent work in helping to put through our program. To mind come the names of such organizations as the Municipal Employees, the Firefighters, the Printing Trades and the numerous other delegations who visited us from time to time at Sacramento. I wish to apologize to those brothers whose names are not mentioned because of space considerations. Whatever glory there is must be shared by the dozens of men who were there and who represented the various unions throughout the State. It would be a serious omission, however, if the names of Brothers Frank MacDonald of the State Building Trades, John O'Connell, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, and Legislative Representative Ray Williamson for the Teamsters, were not included in this report. These men did an admirable piece of work during the whole course of the session.

It would be a far too lengthy list if it also included the names of the many State Senators and Assemblymen who worked like Trojans in behalf of our legislative efforts. Without mentioning their names, I do wish to pay tribute to them and promise them that labor will not forget their services in the next elections.

Of special mention must be the hundreds of loyal members of the various unions throughout the State who flocked to the capital when hearings were held on the important bills aimed against labor during the first part of the session. These loyal souls were always on hand and responded with the same fervent enthusiasm for labor's fight at Sacramento as they have always responded and will continue to respond. God bless them!

If no mention were made of Governor Earl Warren's contribution, labor would be committing a violent breach of ethics and be vulnerable to a justifiable charge of ingratitude. Governor Warren kept his promise to make the Fifty-fifth Session of the State Legislature as constructive as possible. At all times he gave labor a hearing. In several instances he intervened to prevent unfair action being taken. We owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the services he performed in helping to put over the program to eliminate all ignominious legislation at

the last session, and labor should be and is thankful for his invaluable support.

Brother Vandeleur, in defiance of doctor's orders, although far from recovered, was able to be present at meetings held by all the labor legislative representatives to discuss bills that were coming up for a hearing at the various committees, and contributed to those meetings his experience and judgment, which played a very helpful rôle. He did everything in his power to assist our program at Sacramento. We owe Brother Vandeleur a deep debt of gratitude for his devotion and loyalty to the California State Federation of Labor.

It became apparent soon after the session opened, and was clear even before that time, that a vicious fight was in the offing as far as the Unemployment Insurance Act was concerned. It was evident from the great number of bills which were submitted dealing with this act that a concentrated drive was to be made to emasculate the act and thereby deprive hundreds of thousands of deserving workers of its benefits. These bills became the focal point as the legislative session continued. It is extremely gratifying, therefore, that only five of the fifty-odd bad bills reached the Governor's desk, where the Federation successfully continued the fight to have them vetoed.

Never before has the Federation made such a comprehensive digest and analysis of bills submitted to a State Legislature as it has this time. Undoubtedly, a few bills have unavoidably escaped our attention, but as a whole the coverage has been adequate.

It has been a pleasure to have had the opportunity and privilege to represent the Federation in Sacramento, and the duties were made far easier by the effective and pleasant coöperation I received from labor and its many representatives. In submitting the rest of this report, I hope the unions will be able to obtain from it the information and enlightenment for which it is intended, and if they do, then I shall consider the whole job one that has been well done.

Fraternally yours,

C. J. HAGGERTY, Secretary,
California State Federation of
Labor.

ability, but was disregarded after a first reading. **A. B. 418 (Rosenthal)** was a part of that program designed to bring within the provisions of workmen's compensation all cases of hernia, heart trouble, and pneumonia, but met a similar fate. **A. B. 482 (Brady et al.)**, seeking to prevent employment discrimination against a formerly injured person; **A. B. 506 (O'Day)**, adding reasonable attorney's fees to awards; **A. B. 507**, by the same author, increasing death benefits; **A. B. 808 (Sargent)**, providing a method of computation if a permanent disability rating cannot be reasonably determined for an injured employee under twenty-one years of age, and **A. B. 809 (Sargent)** providing payment of compensation for permanent disability should be made in addition to any payment made for temporary disability, when both are caused by a single injury, all died in committee. These were permitted to be dropped, along with several other beneficial measures, in order to assure passage of certain fundamental demands, such as **A. B. 500 (Wollenberg)**. This measure, now law, increases the maximum burial expenses when injury causes death from one hundred and fifty dollars (\$150) to three hundred dollars (\$300).

A. B. 504 (Maloney and Gaffney) was rushed through the Legislature to the Governor's desk, where it was signed, thereby amending the workmen's compensation provisions in the Labor Code so as to cover injuries to state employees not otherwise covered.

A. B. 1436 (Collins, George D., and Lyons, John C.) would have made newsboys and other minors under the age of 18 for whose personal services an independent contract is executed "employees" within the meaning of the Workmen's Compensation Act. It died in committee.

A. B. 1499 (Hawkins), a lengthy all-over measure embodying many of the beneficial changes in the Workmen's Compensation Act long desired and urged by organized labor, died without favorable action like most of the other favorable bills in this field of legislation.

A. B. 1637 (Hawkins), like the Federation's bill, **A. B. 395**, would have eliminated the seven-day waiting period after an employee leaves work as the result of an injury before disability payments can begin, and provided that payment would be recoverable for each day or fraction of a day away from the job. Both measures died in committee.

A. B. 1640 (Hawkins) was an unsuccessful attempt to bring more household domestics within the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act by decreasing the number of hours which must be

worked in order to qualify from the present fifty-two hours per week to twenty hours:

A. B. 1831 (Dills, Clayton A.), died in committee, but would have authorized chiropractic treatment of injured employees under the Act, as an alternative to treatment by a physician, if requested.

A. B. 1882 (Gaffney), re-introduced the original provisions of **A. B. 57** and **A. B. 224**, providing compensation benefits for injured civilian defense workers, after these two bills had been considerably altered by amendment. It died without a vote having been taken upon it.

A. B. 1928 (Call) was of interest to labor only insofar as it included among medical and other services provided under workmen's compensation, the services of chiropodists, osteopaths, and chiropractors. It never got out of committee.

A. J. R. 19 (Johnson) was adopted as a joint resolution petitioning Congress to enact legislation giving to draftees and others entering the military and naval service of the United States permanent total disability insurance for the benefit of their dependents and near relatives.

A. J. R. 23 (Miller et al.). This resolution was adopted memorializing Congress to enact legislation providing compensation for injured civilian defense workers and their dependents.

Assembly Bills—Bad:

A. B. 1658 (Dickey), raising a presumption that pneumoconiosis did not arise out of or occur in the course of employment, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, where an employer has complied with the safety orders of the Industrial Accident Commission, was successfully opposed by the Federation. It has been decided, in keeping with the status quo policy, to confine requests for beneficial legislation in the field of workmen's compensation to a few important bills which had a chance of getting through. This was used as an argument against demands of employers' groups for repressive legislation, such as that contained in **A. B. 1658**, resulting in keeping all measures of this character in committee.

A. B. 1912 (Johnson) would have confined payments to partially disabled employees who subsequently became further disabled, or even totally disabled as a result of an industrial accident while working for a new employer. This was to be achieved through a system of permanent disability rating certificates, assigning a percentage to each partially disabled employee, whether his disability is caused by disease or injury. The bill never reached the floor of the Assembly.

A. B. 1839 (Hawkins), as amended in the Assembly, permits the employment of aliens, other than enemy aliens, on "public works" in California. These workers, nationals of allied nations or countries with which the United States is at peace, may not be employed on new construction, and acquire no civil service or other permanent employment status, according to the measure signed by the Governor. They will be discharged within six months after the cessation of hostilities if still on the job.

A. B. 1840 (Hawkins) was not used for the purpose which prompted its introduction, namely, to provide a possibility for subsequent amendment to Section 83 of the Labor Code relating to "labor statistics."

A. B. 1913 (Johnson), providing compensation for members of the Industrial Welfare Commission, died in committee.

The following bills, similar to measures discussed above, all died in committee:

A. B. 819 (Dunn), a Federation-sponsored bill similar to **A. B. 655**.

A. B. 831 (Rosenthal), also sponsored by the Federation, and similar to **A. B. 655** and **A. B. 819**.

A. B. 1815 (Collins, George D.), similar to **S. B. 576**.

A. B. 1818 (Collins, George D.), similar to **S. B. 737**.

Assembly Bills—Bad:

A. B. 200 (Waters and Maloney) was intended to reduce the license fees of employment agencies operating in more than one location. It died in committee without discussion.

A. B. 1307 (Potter) would have made the membership of the Industrial Accident Commission representative of employers, employees, and the public, but also would have subjected the Governor's appointments to the scrutiny of the Senate. Listed in the Federation's legislative digest as a "bad bill," it was in conflict with the policy announced by Governor Warren as well, and failed to move out of committee during the entire session.

A. B. 1497 (Carlson, Johnson, and Wollenberg). During the 1941 session, Section 7329 of the Labor Code was enacted making it a misdemeanor to fail to install or provide and maintain certain safety devices upon the windows of buildings to safeguard window cleaners. The aim of **A. B. 1497** was to postpone the effective date of this legislation until six months after the declaration of peace, on the spurious ground that materials are unavailable to comply with the Act because of priorities. The Federation pointed out that the existing law permits the substitution of materials where those specified by the Window Cleaners Safety Act are not available. As a result, the bill was voted down by the committee.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Senate Bills—Good:

S. B. 96 (Tenney) was one of several bills introduced in an effort to protect the benefit rights of California workers called into or volunteering for the armed forces, who have contributed to the Unemployment Insurance fund over past years. The preoccupation of the Senate with numerous bills aimed at emasculating the Unemployment Insurance Act prevented any serious consideration of this beneficial proposal.

S. B. 112 (Quinn, Tenney et al.). In 1941 some steps had been taken to protect the benefit rights of "trainees" in the armed forces of the United States, although they did not go so far as to protect reserve officers, as did **S. B. 96**, which died in committee. Governor Warren signed **S. B. 112**, passed during the closing days of the 1943 session, extending the earlier provisions relating to unemployment benefits of persons who have served in the armed forces for an indefinite period.

S. B. 119 (Shelley) was the same as **S. B. 112**, on which Senator Shelley was a co-author, and therefore the passage of the companion bill made it superfluous. The measure died in committee.

S. B. 129 (Shelley) was introduced for the purpose of making substantial increases in weekly benefit payments under the California Unemployment Insurance Act. As originally introduced, each weekly benefit amount was increased by six dollars, so that the minimum would be raised from ten dollars to sixteen dollars and the maximum jacked up from eighteen dollars to twenty-four. Opposition to this increase in the Senate Committee on Welfare and Institutions made it plain that some compromise would have to be worked out. The Federation was determined to get the most money for claimants under the Act as it was possible to put over. Amendments altered the minimum weekly benefit to \$12.50 and the maximum at \$22.50, with graduated increases for the in-between classes. Nevertheless, it soon became obvious that enough votes could not be obtained to put it over. At last, **S. B. 129** was withdrawn from the inactive file and amended to provide an increase in the maximum payment from eighteen to twenty dollars for those earning \$380 and over during their highest quarter. In this form, the bill was passed on the final legislative day. The Governor approved the increase a month later.

up a separate provision for seasonal workers who make the same contributions as other workers under the Act. If the Commission determined that an individual was not ordinarily available for work during the nonseasonal periods, under S. B. 998 as amended, he would not have been eligible for benefits except during the seasons of the employment in which he had been previously engaged. The measure was among the several unemployment insurance bills opposed by the Federation that were pocket vetoed.

S. B. 999 (Ward and Powers) passed the upper house, and was only tabled in the Assembly chambers after last minute efforts succeeded in stemming the rising tide of objectionable bills dealing with Unemployment insurance. It was aimed at unduly penalizing those who refuse to accept suitable employment (perhaps for personal reasons not recognized by the Commission), or fail to apply for suitable employment when notified by the district public employment office. By its terms one offense of this sort would result in wiping out the entire wage credits of an unemployed worker so as to penalize his dependents for an indefinite period until he gets another job. The defeat of S. B. 999 was a successful defense of the fundamental principles of unemployment insurance.

S. B. 1001 (Ward and Powers) was a technical measure aimed at providing additional notices to employers with respect to claims for benefits made by their employees; which was pocket vetoed by the Governor.

S. B. 1002 (Ward and Powers) was transferred to the inactive file on the request of one of the authors since it had been supplanted by the successful attempt to abolish the California Employment Commission under S. B. 993.

S. B. 1003 (Ward and Powers) was one of several bills aimed at excluding workers from "seed to storehouse" from the benefits of the Act by adopting a detailed definition of agricultural labor. It died in the Assembly Committee on Finance and Insurance.

S. B. 1025 (Ward and Powers), proposing a different percentage of tax (unspecified) to be paid for the duration of the war by employers and workers in critical or essential war industries, died in committee.

S. B. 1026 (Ward) would have deprived 17,000 hospital employees of the protection of unemployment insurance if the Governor had signed it. Fortunately it was pocket vetoed.

Assembly Bills—Good:

A. B. 109 (McCollister) found strong opposition from employers' groups who disfavored using the Unemployment Insurance fund for the payment of benefits to workers reaching the age of sixty years, irrespective of their particular employment status. In view of the scope of the plan, and the numerous

other proposals in respect to the care of the aged, the Federation deemed it wise to adopt a more or less neutral position toward this piece of legislation. The measure died in committee.

A. B. 193 (Wollenberg et al.), to assist workers who have served in the armed forces by securing to them unemployment benefit rights, was superseded by S. B. 112, passed and approved by the Governor.

A. B. 410 (Hawkins), intended to enlarge the coverage of the Act to include domestic servants in private homes, did not get out of committee.

A. B. 597 (Lyons) provided for the removal of agricultural labor from the class of excluded employment under the present act. It died in committee as was expected, in view of the concerted opposition from those determined to narrow the scope of the Act.

A. B. 598 (Lyons) would have eliminated the requirement that employers under the Unemployment Insurance Act hire four or more workers for a period of twenty different weeks out of the year, and extended its purview to all employers in the state, but the measure died in committee.

A. B. 972 (Hawkins) was the same as S. B. 112, now law, and A. B. 193, above. It was superseded by the former bill.

A. B. 1079 (Hawkins), the same as S. B. 885 contemplating a health insurance system, died in committee.

A. B. 1227 (Knight et al.), would have excluded tips and gratuities from wages received by employees, thereby lowering the basis upon which benefits are computed. The Federation could not consistently oppose this measure since it had always insisted tips and gratuities did not satisfy the requirements of the minimum wage laws. A further section of the bill defined the term "week" for accounting purposes. The measure was pocket vetoed by the Governor.

A. B. 1446 (Lyons). California maintains the highest yearly wage requirement of all the states. If this proposal to lower the minimum requirement of wages which must be earned in the base year in order to bring a worker within the Act had been in effect since 1941 benefit payments to workers would have been increased by approximately \$12,000,000. Despite strong support from members of the Federation, the bill died in committee, and the wage requirement remains at \$300.

A. B. 1447 (Lyons) would have enlarged the coverage of the Act by removing many of the classes of employment now on the excluded list, and rendering all employers of one or more workers subject to unemployment insurance. This measure, along with several others advanced by the Federation for the purpose of counteracting the attempts made by employers to narrow the Act, died in committee.

REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Fifty - Sixth Session, California Legislature
January 8-27 and March 5 to June 16, 1945

FOREWORD BY THE SECRETARY

The 56th session of the California legislature adjourned sine die on June 16 with a record of accomplishment that was in many respects disappointing.

The California State Federation of Labor presented a comprehensive legislative program formulated by a committee consisting of President Anthony L. Noriega and Vice Presidents Charles W. Real, K. G. Bitter, A. E. Bilger and D. T. Wayne, which was later approved at conferences in Sacramento and Fresno, attended by secretaries of the Central Labor Councils throughout the state.

That program, stated briefly, called for the establishment of a system to provide prepaid medical care, passage of legislation to stimulate and implement post war plans for full employment, liberalization and strengthening of laws relating to unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation. It also included adequate salary increases for state employees, steps to ease strains caused by racial discrimination, and general broadening and strengthening of social security and Labor laws.

Notwithstanding the fact that many Federation objectives were achieved, the program as a whole fell short of accomplishment. The legislature unequivocally refused to consider, on the floor of either house, any plan for prepaid medical or hospital care. It failed to formulate adequate plans for post war employment and deliberately side-tracked legislation on racial discrimination.

Workmen's Compensation

Extensive improvements were made in workmen's compensation laws, and no bad bills were enacted to counteract the desirable results achieved, although several good measures were refused passage. Substantial parts of the Federation program covering this field were adopted.

All important Labor legislation will be outlined in subsequent pages of this report. For the purposes of this introduction it will suffice to say that the outstanding workmen's compensation bill passed was a Federation sponsored measure providing that a worker who sustains both temporary and permanent disabilities in the

same accident shall receive not less than 75% of his full award for permanent disability, irrespective of sums previously paid to him as compensation for the temporary disability. In the past the law has provided that an injured worker is not entitled to both temporary and permanent disability, but only to the greater of the two.

Another workmen's compensation measure enacted, which seems of sufficient importance to mention here, was a bill establishing a "subsequent injuries fund," to be used to fully compensate for accidents to workers who are re-employed after sustaining partial permanent disability, such as the loss of an arm or an eye, and who later suffer further permanent disability. Under present law such a worker does not receive compensation for the total permanent disability that accrues from the two accidents.

Unemployment Insurance

As in the last several sessions, many measures were considered dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance. The most important bills enacted were Federation sponsored measures making provisions of the Unemployment Insurance law applicable to employers of one or more persons instead of four or more, reduction of the waiting period for benefits from two weeks to one week and the so-called "double affirmance" bill, liberalizing appeals procedure. Those measures also had the endorsement and support of Governor Warren.

Those substantial gains in the field of unemployment insurance would have been largely off-

set by the passage of two very bad measures except for the fact that the latter failed to become law because of Governor Warren's veto. One of the bad bills adopted a modified federal definition of agricultural labor that would have deprived in excess of 100,000 workers now covered of all future benefits. The other took advantage of employees' contributions to grant employers reduced rates under merit rating provisions of the law.

Other Legislation

The legislature was most generous in its treatment of state officials whose salaries are in the upper brackets. They were granted substantial salary increases. Judges also got a raise. Rank and file state employees, however, did not fare so well. They must be content with a meager \$15 per month pay increase, despite a determined effort on the part of the Federation to raise that figure to \$25.

To the credit of a majority of the members of the 56th legislature let it be said that they were in no mood to seriously consider any of the Labor baiting measures that were introduced. Two Senate bills which had for their purpose the permanent enactment of the "Hot Cargo" law were tabled in committee. The iniquitous "DeMille bill," which prohibited unions from levying assessments for any political purpose, was tabled when it reached the Assembly floor.

Both houses refused to enact measures reducing the time in which suits might be filed to collect claims for wages, overtime and other compensation to one year. Both Senate and Assembly also refused to pass bills which would have permitted employers to discharge workers on the unsupported claim that they subscribed to subversive philosophies of government.

Legislative Handicaps

Many reasons might be given to account for the legislature's failure to enact a greater portion of the Federation program. Two special causes seem worthy of mention. One is the extreme conservatism of the Senate that results from the present apportionment of that body. The other is the prevailing system in the Assembly under which the Speaker has dictatorial power to name all of the committees of that house.

The California constitution provides that no county, no matter how large the population, shall be entitled to more than one Senator and

that no Senator shall represent more than three counties. This gives tremendous preponderance of voting strength in the Senate to inherently conservative rural areas.

Chief opposition to forward-looking legislation in both houses during the recent session came from organized agricultural interests. That opposition could seldom be overridden in the Senate. There is a handful of members from farming districts, who hold liberal views, but a majority of the membership is either extremely conservative or reactionary in outlook.

Difficulties encountered in getting favorable action on progressive legislation in the Assembly were of a different nature. In that house it is often possible to get the majority vote required on liberal measures that reach the floor for consideration. The catch is that under the present committee system there is altogether too little likelihood of such bills ever getting to the floor for a vote.

The Speaker is chosen by the elected membership of the Assembly. After his selection he appoints the standing committees to which all bills are referred. His decisions on those appointments are final. This undemocratic method gives the Speaker tremendous influence over all legislation. Most bills that are favorably recommended in committee eventually become law. Those that fail to receive such a recommendation almost inevitably die. The personnel of the committees decides the fate of most measures and the Speaker names that personnel.

Many examples of how that system works could be cited. When, for instance, Speaker Charles W. Lyon appointed the Committee on Public Health last January he doomed all bills providing for prepaid medical care. The membership of the committee made it certain that a majority vote could never be obtained to send any health measure to the floor for consideration.

The Committee on Industrial Relations, which was responsible for killing off several good bills, offers another illustration. Seven of the 15 members were sound, solid Labor men. Seven admittedly represented industry or agriculture. Eight votes are required for committee action. The 15th member was therefore in a position to cast the deciding vote on close committee roll calls. According to the Speaker, that man was a neutral, named to act as a balance between the two groups. Actually, he was openly conservative in

viewpoint and threw the balance of the committee 8 to 7 against Labor. There is reason to believe that forces hostile to Labor influenced appointment of the personnel of this and other committees.

The State Federation Role

The State Federation played an important and constructive role in legislative activities. The Secretary was in Sacramento during the entire session. In January he supervised the drafting of Federation sponsored legislation and selected authors to introduce the various bills.

When the session reconvened in March he had as assistants Attorney Charles P. Scully and Former Assemblyman Elmer E. Lore. Scully was retained primarily because of the fact that he is a well qualified expert in the very technical field of unemployment insurance. Because of the importance of that type of legislation the employers of the state have been represented during the past several sessions by an attorney conversant with every angle of the complex subject. It was apparent that the interests of Labor must suffer unless it had as its advocate a man with equal qualifications. It is believed that the results achieved have fully justified the employment of an expert in this field.

The Joint Legislative Committee

As in past sessions the Federation operated as a unit of the California Joint Labor Legislative Committee. J. H. Wasserburger, of the Order of Railway Conductors, was named chairman and the undersigned served as executive secretary. The Committee was composed of a representative list of American Federation of Labor and Railroad Brotherhood organizations.

Representatives of the Committee who spent all or a large portion of their time doing effective work in Sacramento were, in addition to Wasserburger: George F. Irvine, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Harry See, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; W. W. Stevens, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; R. S. Roberts, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; S. A. Buckley, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and Robert Ash, Alameda Central Labor Council.

Other A. F. of L. representatives who, although their organizations did not participate as integral parts of the Joint Labor Legislative Committee, were always available for advice or assistance, were: A. M. "Bert" Fellows, repre-

senting the Printing Trades unions of the state; Thomas Meagher, international representative of the Painters; Frank C. MacDonald of the State Building Trades Council; Raymond D. Williamson, Highway Drivers Council; Harry Finks, president of the Sacramento Central Labor Council, and Walter Pierce, international representative of the Barbers. There may have been others whose names cannot be called to mind.

In addition to those mentioned, who spent a substantial amount of time in Sacramento, were other A. F. of L. officers and representatives who visited the capital from time to time and rendered invaluable service in connection with specific bills and by conferring with the Senators or Assemblymen from their home districts on legislative problems.

Full credit must be given to all of those, named and unnamed. The legislative results accomplished would not have been possible without their assistance.

Legislative Voting Record

The "Tabulation of Votes," which is a part of this report, has been prepared primarily for the information and use of A. F. of L. officials and members, who want information on the voting records of their Senators and Assemblymen. More roll calls have been compiled this year than for any similar report in the past. This has been done partly because it is believed that the increasing importance of legislative activity to the Labor Movement makes a more comprehensive report desirable and partly because it is felt that the larger the number of roll calls compiled the fairer and more accurate the picture rendered of the attitude of individual legislators.

A word of caution, however, seems in order relative to its use. Within reasonable limits it accurately reveals comparative values, but it cannot be used as an absolutely arbitrary yardstick to measure the exact worth of each individual legislator. That is because of the fact that certain human factors cannot be reflected in a cold, statistical analysis. A compilation of this kind does not record the degree of sincerity or lack thereof that motivated the votes cast. Neither does it allow any tolerance for the elements of human error and honest difference of opinion.

Another shortcoming in connection with any tabulation of votes is that it cannot reflect the political complexion of the districts from which the various legislators come. The representative

of a conservative agricultural area cannot be expected to vote as consistently with Labor as one who comes from an urban district where constituents consist in large part of union men and women.

It will be noted that the otherwise perfect or near-perfect records of several Senators and Assemblymen appear to be marred by absences. Let it be pointed out that in both houses the percentage of absenteeism is much lower among members at the top of the Labor record than it is among those at the bottom. Liberal legislators were, almost without exception, conscientious in the performance of all duties and it is a fair presumption that the great majority of absences recorded among them were caused by illness or by urgent legislative duties, such as committee hearings, which often cause members to miss roll calls. For that reason, loss of position in the standings due to failure to vote should not be over-emphasized.

Notwithstanding those shortcomings and complexities, it is believed that the accompanying tabulation is fair and that if used intelligently, it can serve as a useful guide in judging the attitudes and qualifications of Senators and Assemblymen. It is based strictly on recorded roll calls on which all issues involved were clear.

If the A. F. of L. membership will give it the study it deserves it will rather clearly indicate those legislators who are worthy of future support. It will also show the desirability of replacing certain present members from strong Labor districts with representatives who are more in harmony with the views of their constituency.

Labor's legislative representatives in Sacramento must achieve whatever results are possible with the Senators and Assemblymen who are chosen by the people of the state. The Labor Movement, with its present strength and prestige, is in a position to exert tremendous influence in the selection of those legislators. It can provide better ones in some instances. If rank and file unionists can be brought to a realization of the seriousness of this problem and the simplicity of its solution, the California legislature that convenes in 1947 will establish new records of constructive accomplishment.

In Appreciation

In closing, a word of appreciation is definitely in order for the consistent support given Labor

measures by progressive legislators in both Senate and Assembly.

In the upper house Senators Shelley, Jespersen and Carter completed the session without being charged with a single bad vote. Shelley was a source of strength, especially on unemployment insurance measures because of his exceptionally broad knowledge of that subject. Carter was the most persuasive debater in the Senate on Labor and other progressive legislation. Jespersen was as dependable as his record indicates and often gave effective assistance on the floor. Several other Senators rendered valuable aid.

Never in the history of the California legislature has there been such keen competition for top spots on the Labor record as in the Assembly during the recent session. Eight men are not charged with a single bad vote. Dunn, Fletcher, Hawkins and Maloney head the list, due to the fact that they were present on every recorded roll call. Such a record speaks for itself. Maloney, a legislative veteran, was able to render especially valuable service to the Labor Movement because of his position as Speaker Pro Tem and as a member of the Committee on Finance and Insurance to which important bills on workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance were referred.

Gaffney, Lyons, Thomas and Rosenthal, all outstanding Labor legislators, lost positions in the standings only because they were not always present on roll calls. As explained above, that does not detract from the credit to which they are all entitled. Lyons performed outstanding service as chairman of the important Committee on Industrial Relations, and as an active floor leader on Labor bills.

Many Progressives

Ten other Assemblymen are charged with but one bad vote. Four members had two bad votes apiece; three others had three each, and four more were recorded as wrong on only four roll calls. That adds up to a total of 29 out of the 80 Assemblymen who were not recorded with bad votes on more than one-tenth of the 40 roll calls tabulated. All of those deserve credit for excellent records. There were many others who followed close behind. It was this unprecedented competition for top positions in the standings and not lack of ability or dependability that drove many liberal legislators far down on the list.

George Collins and Ralph Dills, for example, who not only voted consistently, but who contributed strength in many heated debates, appear in the comparative standings in 15th and 16th positions respectively. Many other progressive legislators are still further down the list. A member charged with but seven bad votes, fell to 39th place in the standings. Labor has never had so many friends on which it could usually depend for support.

To that sizable bloc of alert and fighting progressives in the Assembly must go major credit for the degree of success achieved by Labor and other liberal groups during the recent session. May their numbers grow!

Respectfully submitted,

C. J. HAGGERTY, Secretary

California State Federation of Labor

REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING LABOR

There were 3540 bills introduced during the 1945 session of the California Legislature, 2233 of which originated in the Assembly and 1307 in the Senate. In addition to those bills there were hundreds of constitutional amendments and resolutions of various kinds.

Many of those measures were drafted and introduced by authors chosen by the Federation. All were studied carefully and more than 400 of them which directly affected Labor organizations or the welfare of their membership were critically analyzed. The Federation's legislative staff, which was employed in Sacramento during the session, followed the course of those measures

carefully, supporting the good and opposing the bad.

For the information of the A. F. of L. membership this report presents a brief analysis of the most important measures affecting Labor, classified as to subjects, and indicates their final disposition.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

More than 100 bills were introduced on this single subject. Among those were many measures sponsored by the Federation, designed to broaden, strengthen and liberalize California's Unemployment Insurance act and make it adequate to meet the needs of the postwar era.

Another long list of constructive bills, most of which were technical in nature, was sponsored and introduced by members of a Senate Interim Committee on Unemployment Insurance, of which Senator John F. Shelley was chairman. Employers' groups were responsible for the introduction of many bad measures, the primary purpose of which was to reduce the tax contributions of their sponsors through technical disqualification of applicants for benefits and through grants of additional concessions under merit rating provisions of the law.

If legislative accomplishments in this field are to be judged in comparison with the comprehensive objectives sought by the Federation, they are indeed meager. Several good measures, however, were enacted and many bad ones defeated. Thanks to Governor Warren, who vetoed all bad measures passed by the legislature, the net re-

sult was marked improvement in the state's Unemployment Insurance law.

Analyzed here are a few of the more important measures which were considered. (* Indicates bills in this section sponsored by the California State Federation of Labor.)

Good Bills

S. B. 1082 (by Shelley and others). One of the most constructive measures introduced, providing that employees' contributions be segregated in a special fund to be used to pay benefits to workers unemployed because of illness or of an injury not covered by workmen's compensation. Under present law a worker cannot draw benefits for unemployment due to those causes for the reason that he is not available for work. This bill was refused passage in the Senate by a

Purpose is to discourage unjustified appeals that delay settlement of claims and deprive injured workers of their compensation at the time they need it most. Bill passed the Assembly 45 to 27 (Assembly roll call No. 13). It later died in the Senate Committee on Labor.

A. B. 872 (by Maloney). Providing that in cases where there has been unreasonable delay or a refusal of settlement in connection with a workman's compensation claim that the award be increased 10%. This bill passed both houses unanimously and was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 873 (by Maloney). Changing the whole basis for payment of death benefits by providing a pension for the widows and children of industrial accident victims. Under the terms of the measure a widow would receive benefits for the duration of her widowhood. Children would receive payments to the age of 18, or if blind or crippled, for life. Present maximum death benefit is \$6000. That amount is paid in installments over a period of 240 weeks, after which all benefits terminate, irrespective of needs of dependents. This important social legislation was sponsored by the Industrial Accident Commission. The bill passed the Assembly 45 to 25 (Assembly roll call No. 14). It later died in the Senate Committee on Labor when that body refused to give it a favorable recommendation.

***A. B. 1179 (by Dunn and Sheridan).** Providing that "injury" to a policeman or fireman includes pneumonia or heart trouble which manifests itself while he is in the service of the department. Present law stipulates that he must be in "active service," which sometimes makes it difficult to prove that accident is compensable. As bill was introduced it carried the same provision relative to hernia. The latter was stricken by an amend-

ment that was adopted over the protest of Federation representatives. The bill passed the Assembly with but one dissenting vote. The Senate approved unanimously. It was signed by the Governor.

***A. B. 1290 (by Carey and others).** Having the effect of increasing lump sum workmen's compensation awards. Disability awards are usually paid in installments. In those cases in which they are granted in a lump sum they are reduced, under present law, by an amount that is equal to 6% interest per annum on the normally deferred payments. Cutting the computed value of that interest from 6% to 3% will materially increase the amount of cash actually received by the beneficiary. This measure passed both houses and was signed by the Governor.

***A. B. 1291 (by Carey and others).** Providing that no sums paid as indemnity for disability shall be deducted from death benefits. Law now provides that if death occurs more than 12 months subsequent to injury that all payments for disability benefits shall be deducted from the award. This is manifestly unjust, especially in cases where the amount paid in connection with the disability is large. The bill died in committee.

A. B. 1343 (by Thomas). Providing that the Industrial Accident Commission may award reasonable attorney's fees in cases where an employer fails to secure payment of compensation. This bill passed both houses unanimously and was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 1519 (by R. C. Dills). Providing that industrial accident victims are entitled to therapeutic treatments by a chiropractor as well as the services of a physician. Passed the Assembly unanimously. Adopted by the Senate 24 to 5 (Senate roll call No. 19). The bill was signed by the Governor.

HEALTH INSURANCE

One of the most disappointing performances of the 56th legislature was in connection with its refusal to enact—or even seriously consider—any measure to provide a system of prepaid medical care. Labor was united in its advocacy of such a program. Dozens of influential groups and organizations throughout the state had endorsed the principle. Governor Earl Warren listed health insurance at the top of his social security agenda, and stubbornly fought for enactment of an adequate program throughout the session. A majority of the state's legislators, however, were unable or unwilling to resist pressure of the reactionary opponents of such a program.

Several bills were introduced which provided for a more or less comprehensive medical care program. Two of those measures had substan-

tial backing and received committee consideration. They were **A. B. 449 (by Thomas and**

others) and A. B. 800 (by Wollenberg and others).

The members of the Assembly Committee on Public Health, to which the bills were referred were: Fred H. Kraft, chairman, San Diego; Ernest E. Debs, vice-chairman, Los Angeles; Sam L. Collins, Fullerton; Ralph C. Dills, Compton; Fred Emlay, Salinas; John W. Evans, Los Angeles; Edward M. Gaffney, San Francisco; Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles; Jack Massion, Los Angeles; Richard H. McCollister, Mill Valley; John B. Pelletier, Los Angeles; and John F. Thompson, San Jose.

That committee went through the motions of holding hearings on the bills. Considerable time was consumed and many witnesses for and against the measures were heard. It developed later, however, that a majority of the committee had signed a report prior to the conclusion of the hearings, recommending that the matter be postponed two years for further study.

Long before the committee voted on a motion to send the bills to the floor of the Assembly with a favorable recommendation the result was a foregone conclusion. Only three members of the committee voted affirmatively, with seven votes required for action. (The committee vote was identical on both measures.)

No official tabulation of committee votes is recorded, but according to press reports the roll call was as follows:

Aye—Gaffney, Hawkins and Massion—3.

No—S. L. Collins, Emlay, Evans, Field, McCollister, Thompson and Kraft—7.

Absent—Debs, R. C. Dills and Pelletier—3.

After failure to get favorable committee action, the authors of both health bills attempted to bring them to the floor of the Assembly for consideration by motions to withdraw from committee. Forty-one affirmative votes were required.

The motion by Thomas on A. B. 449 failed 34 to 42 (Assembly roll call No. 22).

Wollenberg's motion in respect to A. B. 800 was defeated 38 to 39 (Assembly roll call No. 23).

After the refusal of the legislature to even consider a general health program Wollenberg and Thomas, as co-authors, introduced A. B. 2201, providing for hospital care on a prepaid basis through payroll deductions.

The Committee on Public Health, after perfunctory hearings, voted 8 to 5 to lay the bill on the table. An unofficial compilation shows the committee roll call as follows:

To table—Debs, S. L. Collins, Emlay, Evans, Field, McCollister, Thompson and Kraft—8.

Against tabling—R. C. Dills, Hawkins, Gaffney, Pelletier and Massion—5.

After this action of the committee, Wollenberg moved that A. B. 2201 be withdrawn from that body and placed on the Assembly file for consideration. The motion lost 32 to 45 (Assembly roll call No. 24).

“THE DeMILLE BILL”

A. B. 1953 (by Davis and Call). As originally introduced, this measure prohibited Labor Organizations from levying assessments for any political purpose. It became generally known as the “DeMille bill” after Cecil B. DeMille, movie and radio tycoon, appeared before the Assembly Committee on Industrial Relations urging its adoption. The measure was doubtless introduced as a result of his controversy with the American Federation of Radio Artists over a \$1 assessment levied to oppose Proposition No. 12 on the 1944 general election ballot. DeMille refused to pay the assessment and was expelled from his union. He appealed to the courts, contending that his constitutional political rights had been infringed.

The court ruled that no legal rights had been invaded and sustained the right of the union to discipline the plaintiff. At the time DeMille appeared before the Assembly committee, he had appealed that decision and enactment of the bill would have materially strengthened his legal position.

The bill was designed to render the entire Labor Movement politically impotent. The prohibition on a traditional form of union financing would have made it impossible to raise money needed to effectively fight any vicious initiative measures or to oppose candidates unfriendly to Labor. It would have even made it illegal for a union to levy an assessment by a unanimous vote to maintain legislative representatives in

(S. B. 1239 was identical with A. B. 2096, analyzed below.) Tenney's amendment was defeated 15 to 22 (Senate roll call No. 21). The bill later passed the Senate in its original form by unanimous vote and was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 1391 (by Lyons and others). This was a bill sponsored by Governor Warren, providing for needed reorganization of the State Department of Industrial Relations. The principal objectives of the bill were never in serious controversy. The only fight came when efforts were made by Johnson to incorporate bad amendments, granting to referees of the Industrial Accident Commission powers traditionally and properly held by the Commission itself. The Federation successfully opposed all moves to turn over to those civil service employees authority that would enable them to arbitrarily rule on the claims of industrial accident victims. One of the objectionable Johnson Amendments was adopted 39 to 34 (Assembly roll call No. 17). Lyons then moved to reconsider the vote. Reconsideration was granted 58 to 16 (Assembly roll call No. 18). After reconsideration the amendment was tabled and the bill passed 66 to 9 (Assembly roll call No. 19). The bill later passed the Senate without controversy and was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 1531 (by Stewart and others). This is the so-called "Urban Redevelopment bill," providing legal machinery and establishing procedures to enable public agencies to cooperate with private enterprise in rehabilitating slum areas within cities. It opens a new field in which to plan postwar employment projects and offers hope for social progress in the form of better housing. Bill passed Assembly without a dissenting vote. It was approved by the Senate 31 to 2 (Senate roll call No. 25), and was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 1879 (by Gannon and Geddes). Prohibiting publicly supported schools of printing from doing commercial printing in competition with private plants. Details were worked out in conference between representatives of the printing trades unions and the industry to enable schools to do a diversity of work providing for complete instruction without unfairly competing with regular employers. The bill passed the Assembly without a dissenting vote. It was adopted by the Senate 21 to 9 (Senate roll call No. 26). The measure was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 2057 (by Johnson and Wollenberg). Providing machinery for the relief of unemploy-

ment, to become effective upon declaration of an emergency by the Governor and the legislature. There was an honest difference of opinion among legislators and others as to the desirability of such a law at this time. The Federation took the position that failure of the legislature to develop any comprehensive postwar employment program and its refusal to extend coverage and benefits of unemployment insurance made this measure desirable to "cushion" the shock of anticipated emergencies. The bill passed the Assembly 58 to 16 (Assembly roll call No. 37). The vote in the Senate was 27 to 10 (Senate roll call No. 27). It was signed by the Governor.

A. B. 2136 (by McMillan). The so-called "Full Employment bill," providing for annual surveys of employment opportunities throughout California and a comprehensive integrated program to encourage the fullest possible utilization of the state's working force in private industry and on public works. After several amendments which modified but did not destroy its original intent, the bill passed the Assembly 68 to 4 (Assembly roll call No. 40). It later died in the Senate Committee on Finance.

Bad Bills

A. B. 208 (by Middough, Debs and McMillan). Providing for photostatic recording of documents in the three largest counties of the state, which would have eliminated the jobs of several hundred skilled copyists with long tenure in the public service. The bill was defeated in the Assembly by a vote of 32 to 38 (Assembly roll call No. 28). Reconsideration was later refused, 19 to 45.

A. B. 2096 (by Kraft). Enabling employers to discharge workers on unsubstantiated charges that they adhered to subversive philosophies of government. The broad terms of the bill would not only have invaded the constitutional rights of employees, but would have made it possible for unscrupulous employers to resort to subterfuge which would have jeopardized the jobs of loyal workers. The bill was once favorably recommended by the Assembly Committee on Judiciary. Beal's motion to re-refer to committee carried 41 to 33 (Assembly roll call No. 38). A subsequent motion by Kraft to reconsider that action was defeated 38 to 41 (Assembly roll call No. 39). An identical bill, S. B. 1239, (by Tenney, Burns and Dilworth), was tabled in the Senate Committee on Labor.

The
Labor Record
of Earl Warren--
Incumbent and Candidate
for Governor, June 6, 1950 Primary Elections

California State Federation
of Labor
995 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Earl Warren---incumbent and candidate for Governor

June 6, 1950 primary elections

LABOR RECORD

Part I.....action on legislation.....summary

Part II.....action on non-legislative matters

.....
Note: Governor Warren's record on legislative matters has been compiled from the legislative reports made each year by the Federation. The summary report on his legislative action omits minor bills, or those applying only to special trades or industries and of no general significance to the labor movement. Page references following each item refer to the legislative reports of the Federation for the year indicated.

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1943 Regular Legislative Session

Unemployment Insurance -- GOOD

SB 1026. Vetoed. This legislation was opposed by organized labor and the Department of Employment. It would have exempted nonprofit hospitals from the Unemployment Insurance Act, thereby excluding about 4,000 hospital employees from coverage. The definition of nonprofit corporations was too broad. (Page 21)

AB 347 and SB 998. Vetoed. This legislation was opposed by the Department of Employment and the State Federation of Labor, because it would have removed 100,000 agricultural workers from unemployment insurance benefits. (Pages 20, 22)

AB 1226. Vetoed. This legislation would have established a statutory procedure for handling of Unemployment Insurance Act claims. It was disapproved by the Attorney General, the State Federation of Labor, and the Department of Employment. (Page 23)

AB 1544. Vetoed. This legislation would have excluded golf caddies and insurance agents and solicitors receiving only commissions, from the Unemployment Insurance Act. It was opposed by the State Federation of Labor as it would have encouraged firms to take men off salary and place them on commission. The Attorney General said that it was discriminatory and unconstitutional. (Page 24)

SB 129. Signed. Increased the maximum payment from \$15 to \$20 for those earning \$380 and over during their highest quarter. (Page 18)

Unemployment Insurance -- BAD

SB 993. Signed. Replaced the former tripartite California Employment Commission with a five-man California Employment Stabilization Commission of purely "public" members. The State Federation requested a veto. (Page 20)

Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD

SB 1044. Signed. Raised the maximum temporary disability benefit from \$25 to \$30 for the duration of the war. (Page 13)

Other Legislation of Interest to Labor -- GOOD

AB 295. Signed. Required employers to furnish employees with an itemized statement of payroll deductions. (Page 16)

AB 307. Signed. Provided child care centers without additional local taxes. (Page 11)

AB 1073. Signed. This legislation puts more teeth into the existing law regarding advertisements for "scabs" during labor trouble by increasing criminal penalties for employers who fail to mention in such advertisements that a strike, lockout or other labor disturbance exists. (Page 9)

AB 1323. Pocket-vetoed. This legislation would have exempted graduate nurses working in laboratories licensed by the federal government preparing blood plasma, from the maximum hours provisions of the Labor Code. (Page 13)

AB 1994. Signed. This was a compromise bill based on recommendations of the committee appointed by the Governor to investigate the entire question of old age pensions. It had Federation support. Aid was increased to \$50 and the relatives' contribution scale was modified. (Page 27)

SB 15. Signed. Gave a \$25 increase in monthly salary to state employees earning less than \$300 and a \$20 increase to all other salaried employees. (Page 25)

SB 103. Signed. Reduced the state sales tax from 3 percent to 2½ percent up to June 30, 1945. (Page 28)

Other Labor Legislation -- BAD

AB 1048. Vetoed, because not clearly enforceable. Required employers to maintain medical or surgical chests around power machinery and to furnish pure drinking water. (Page 17)

AB 512. Signed. Suspended the Full Crew Law for the duration and gave the Railroad Commission power to regulate the number of brakemen needed. Veto requested by the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Federation. (Page 30)

1945 Legislative Session

Unemployment Insurance -- GOOD

AB 1538. Signed. Reduced the waiting period for unemployment insurance from two weeks to one week. The Federation had sponsored a bill which would have entirely eliminated the waiting period, but accepted this bill as a reasonable compromise. (Page 9)

SB 615. Vetoed. Would have deprived thousands of workers of unemployment insurance benefits by changing the definition of agricultural labor. (Page 9)

SB 989. Vetoed. Would have deprived insurance salesmen paid on a commission basis of unemployment insurance benefits. (Page 9)

SB 1191. Vetoed. Would have debited employers' accounts under merit rating with only 73 percent of the payments charged against them, thereby giving employers benefit of a lower tax rate. (Page 10)

AB 2206. Vetoed. Would have exempted all Mexican Nationals brought into the state as agricultural workers from provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act, which would have encouraged unscrupulous employers to hire them in preference to citizens on whom it would have been necessary to make unemployment insurance contributions. (Page 10)

AB 220. Signed. Extended unemployment insurance coverage from employers of 4 or more to employers of one or more. (Page 8)

Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD

SB 85. Signed. Made an appropriation of \$200,000 to be used to fully compensate workers already suffering from partial permanent disability for the combined permanent disability suffered in connection with a subsequent injury. (Page 10)

AB 134. Signed. Provided that an injured workman who is permanently disabled shall receive not less than 75 percent of the award to which he is entitled for such permanent disability, irrespective of any sums received for temporary disability in connection with the same accident. (Page 11)

AB 684. Signed. Continued in effect for two years, or for the duration of the war, a temporary law providing weekly benefits of \$30 for temporary disability, and added volunteer firemen to those entitled to such benefits. (Page 11)

(Workmen's Comp.--GOOD)

AB 1290. Signed. Had the effect of increasing lump sum workmen's compensation awards. (Page 12)

AB 1343. Signed. Provided that the Industrial Accident Commission may award reasonable attorney's fees in cases where an employer fails to secure payment of compensation. (Page 12)

Other Legislation of Interest to Labor -- GOOD

AB 274. Signed. Authorized continuance of child care centers if money were available for their support from the federal government. This emasculated version was the result of a Senate amendment. As the bill was introduced and as it passed the Assembly it continued authorization for maintenance of child care centers for two years and legalized expenditures by local governmental agencies for their support. (Page 16)

AB 329. Signed. Tightened existing law relative to the hours of women who work for more than one employer in the course of the same week. (Page 16)

AB 334. Signed. Clarified the law relative to the weight of objects that may be handled by women employees. (Page 16)

AB 920. Vetoed. Would have nullified provisions of the law relating to maximum hours of work for women, insofar as employees of certain technical laboratories are concerned. Passed both houses and was vetoed by the Governor. Unfortunately, however, the bad provisions of this bill were incorporated in AB 2088, another bill by the same author. The Governor was compelled to sign the latter measure, in view of the fact that it was the only bill reaching his desk to continue certain wartime regulations relating to the employment of women. (Page 16)

AB 335. Signed. Extended to all employers a prohibition against interference with the political rights of their workers. The previous law applied only to those who regularly employed 20 or more persons. (Page 17)

AB 1391. Signed. Sponsored by Warren, this bill provided for needed reorganization of the State Department of Industrial Relations. (Page 18)

AB 1531. Signed. This was the "Urban Redevelopment Bill," which provided legal machinery and established procedures to enable public agencies to cooperate with private enterprise in rehabilitating slum areas within cities. (Page 18)

(Other Legislation -- GOOD)

AB 2057. Signed. Provided machinery for the relief of unemployment. to become effective upon declaration of an emergency by the Governor and the legislature. The Federation took the position that failure of the legislature to develop any comprehensive postwar employment program and its refusal to extend coverage and benefits of unemployment insurance made this measure desirable to "cushion" the shock of anticipated emergencies. (Page 18)

Salaried state employees received a \$15 a month increase; per diem employees did not benefit. (Page 17)

1946 Special Session

Disability Insurance -- GOOD

SB 40. Signed. Provided for the payment of disability benefits to workers unemployed because of sickness or injury not compensable under workmen's compensation laws. The amount and duration of benefits are the same as for unemployment insurance. Bills to establish a system of disability insurance had been introduced three consecutive preceding sessions of the legislature. Governor Warren placed disability insurance as the No. 1 subject on his agenda of social legislation for this special session and was forthright in his support of the measure. (Page 5)

SB 126. Signed. Appropriated funds to permit disability payments provided for in SB 40 to begin immediately. (Page 7)

Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD

AB 109. Signed. Continued wartime measure which increased benefits payable under the Workmen's Compensation Law for both temporary and permanent disability from \$25 to \$30 per week until the fall of 1947, necessitating the introduction of another bill at the next regular session to make the liberalized act permanent. (Page 7)

SB 100. Signed. Provided workmen's compensation coverage for Disaster Council workers. Provision for compensation coverage for such workers was on the basis previously made for War Council workers. (Warren letter ch. Labor Code)

Other Legislation of Interest to Labor -- GOOD

Over \$262,000,000 was appropriated for the purpose of financing the greatest public works program ever undertaken in California. The appropriations provide for projects in every city and every county in the state and many types of construction are involved

This tremendous backlog of public works, which will supplement a still more extensive list of private projects, should assure a prosperous construction industry over a period of several years and have a salutary effect on sustaining high levels of employment throughout the reconversion period. (page 8)

AB 7. Signed. Established a policy under which child care centers are to be continued. (Page 9)

SB 45. Signed. Appropriated \$3,500,000 for support of child care centers until March 30, 1947, and provided that none of the money could be expended for the care of any child unless a reasonable fee is paid by the parent. The bill also contained a "means" test, providing that no money could be spent for the care of any child unless parents show to the satisfaction of the governing board that he is not financially able to provide otherwise for the care of the child. Children of veterans were exempted from the latter provision. (Page 9)

AB 40. Signed. Repealed the Minors Emergency War Employment Act and revoked all outstanding permits issued thereunder. That law was enacted in 1943 to temporarily relax child labor laws during the wartime emergency. (Page 11)

AB 102. Signed. Appropriated \$25,000 to the Department of Industrial Relations to be used in connection with the conciliation and mediation of labor disputes. The State Federation had joined with the department in requesting funds for this function.

1947 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Unemployment Insurance -- GOOD

AB 1328. Signed. Increased the maximum unemployment and disability benefit from \$20 to \$25 per week; increased the maximum duration from 23 plus weeks to 26 weeks; imposed restrictions on seasonal workers employed less than four months each year; granted employers reductions in their tax rates, provided the benefit fund of the Act remains in excess of \$400 million. (Page 22)

Unemployment Insurance -- Bad

AB 1327. Signed. Disqualified an individual from the date upon which a claim is filed, instead of, as previously, the date when the disqualifying act occurs. In addition, it disqualified a worker for each week during which he fails to report at the employment office, even though he may be temporarily disqualified for benefits.

AB 2079. Signed. Provided that, when and if a separate system is established for the placement of farm workers, the California Department of Employment will have no further duties as far as placement of such workers is concerned. The act depends on federal legislation to make it effective, but is bad in principle nonetheless. (Page 11)

SB 1097. Signed. Required that an applicant for unemployment insurance must actively seek work in addition to reporting to the state employment office. (The "blue card" system was developed as a result of this amendment.) (Page 24)

Unemployment Disability Insurance -- GOOD

AB 115. Signed. Provided for payment of disability benefits for each day of disability after a seven-day waiting period, instead of paying only for full weeks after at least fourteen days. Also provided for the establishment of a contingent fund for the payment of disability benefits to individuals whose disability commenced during a period of unemployment insurance. (Page 25)

SB 1100. Vetoed. Would have provided that when 80 percent of the employees were covered by a private "voluntary" plan, the remaining 20 percent would be covered involuntarily. (Page 26)

Unemployment Disability Insurance -- BAD

AB 2084. Signed. Gave some additional advantages to private plans. (Page 26)

Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD

AB 1880. Signed. Provided for more adequate filing of injury reports and more effective enforcement of the safety provisions of the law. (Page 30)

AB 2500. Signed. Clarified and strengthened provisions on coverage of agricultural employers. (Page 30)

SB 146. Signed. Required one week's notice to claimant of cessation of payment of claim. (Page 31)

(Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD)

SB 256. Signed. Increased the minimum death benefit from \$2,000 to \$3,000; increased the maximum where there is a dependent minor child from \$6,000 to \$7,500, and increased the minimum amount payable from $3\frac{1}{2}$ times to 4 times. (Page 31)

SB 259. Signed. Provided that workers shall receive 100 percent payment for both temporary and permanent disability, provided that in life pension cases in addition to the permanent disability the maximum amount of temporary disability compensation payable is 104 weeks. Continued program started in 1945. (Page 31)

SB 535. Signed. Prohibited any compromise and release agreement unless it is submitted to and approved by the Commission. (Page 32)

SB 1542. Signed. A compromise bill, increasing the minimum benefit from \$6.50 to \$9.75 and the maximum from \$25.00 to \$30.00. This continued the wartime measure. (Page 32)

Labor Code Changes -- GOOD
(Labor Unions, wages, Hours)

AB 411. Signed. Required advertisements for help wanted to state the existence of a labor dispute when one exists. (Page 33)

AB 743. Signed. Amended and improved regulations applying to health, safety and comfort in labor camps. (Page 33)

AB 761. Signed. Revoked 1943 wartime measure which had permitted women to work under conditions contrary to those in the Labor Code. (Page 28)

AB 1512. Vetoed. Would have extended the time of payment of wages due strikers until termination of strike. Amended to apply only where strikers "actively prevent" payroll clerks from entering plant. (Page 10)

SB 189. Signed. Provided that either party to a labor dispute may request mediation by the Department of Industrial Relations. (bad originally only) (Page 11)

Labor Code Changes -- BAD

AB 964. Signed. Exempted female executives, administrators and those doing professional work and earning over \$350 per month from the workday and workweek limitations of the labor code. (Page 28)

SB 297. Signed. The lumpers bill....requiring produce dealers to establish a scale of unloading charges for farm products; unloaders required to register with the Labor Commissioner, except when father, son, or regular employee of trucker of farm produce. Deprived union and employee representatives of voice in setting standards, and gave employers full control. Federation requested a veto. (Page 21)

SB 342. Outlawed "hot cargo" and secondary boycott practices, making permanent the existing temporary, wartime measure passed in 1941 over the veto of Governor Olson. The wartime measure had subsequently, in 1942, been approved in a referendum. Governor Warren felt that SB 342 should become law so that its constitutionality might be tested in the California Supreme Court, but because of doubts as to the constitutionality of the measure he refrained from signing it and allowed it to become law without his signature. (Page 11, Warren statement)

SB 1492. Signed. Made jurisdictional strikes and organizational strikes illegal. The Federation strenuously opposed the passage and signing of this bill and requested a veto. (Pages 3, 11)

Education and Housing -- GOOD

AB 1782. Signed. Continued child care centers with appropriation of \$5,500,000.

SB 109. Signed. As amended established State Redevelopment Agency consisting of 5 members to study matters of housing and community redevelopment, etc. Appropriated \$77,000. (Page 9)

Pensions -- GOOD

AB 138. Signed. Increased old age pensions from \$50 to \$60. (Page 11)

AB 377. Signed. Increased the amount of assessed valuation of real property which may be owned by aged persons receiving pensions from \$3,000 to \$3,500. (Page 11)

(Pensions -- GOOD)

AB 850 and AB 851. Signed. Increased from \$65 to \$75 the maximum monthly aid to the needy blind and the self-supporting blind and boosted the state's share of the expense. (Page 6)

Public Employees -- GOOD

(Teachers and other state, county and municipal employees)

AB 222 and AB 941. Signed. Provided 40-hour, 5-day week for all state employees and made appropriation.

SB 437. Signed. Provided cost of living increases for state employees. Appropriated \$12,500,000. (Page 17)

SB 1350. Signed. Increased accumulated sick leave for state employees to 150 days. (Page 18)

Miscellaneous -- GOOD

AB 10. Vetoed. Would have limited voting rights in recreation districts to one vote for each \$100 of assessed valuation. (Page 33)

Miscellaneous -- BAD

AB 1819. Signed. Financial responsibility law for automobile drivers. Not a bad law in itself, but made employee-drivers financially responsible for accidents, etc., during working hours. (Page 33)

AB 2542. Vetoed. Would have required members of the State Board of Cosmetology to devote full time to duties and provided salary of \$4200 per year. (Page 8)

1949 Regular Session

Unemployment Insurance -- GOOD

AB 744. Signed. Included public housing administration agencies under the Unemployment Insurance Act. (Page 25)

(Unemployment Insurance -- GOOD)

AB 898. Signed. Provided that a person eligible for unemployment disability benefits and unemployment benefits in the same benefit year may receive the maximum of both, resulting in the payment of additional benefits estimated at \$1,100,000, of which \$700,000 will be under the unemployment insurance program. (Page 25)

AB 2296. Signed. Permitted governmental units to elect coverage under the Insurance Act, provided a majority of the employees affected consent. As first proposed would have extended coverage to all public employees. However, relatively few employees are affected since civil service and permanent tenure positions are specifically excluded from coverage. (Page 25)

Unemployment Insurance -- BAD

AB 384. Signed. Disqualified perpetually an individual convicted of wilfully making a false statement to obtain unemployment insurance benefits. (Page 26)

AB 827. Signed. Provided that no benefits shall be charged against any employer's account when the claimant voluntarily quit or is disqualified because of a discharge for misconduct. (Page 27)

Unemployment Disability Insurance -- GOOD

AB 669. Signed. Provided that unpaid wages due an employee shall be deemed wages in computing benefits payable under the Act. An amendment provided a hospital benefit of \$8.00 a day up to a maximum of 12 days, for employees covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act. (Page 31)

Unemployment Disability Insurance -- BAD

AB 82. Pocket-vetoed. Permitted optometrists to prepare the certificate needed to support the first claim for disability benefits. (Page 31)

SB 1330. Signed. Required group coverage on an industry-wide basis on a master voluntary plan approved by 75 percent of the employees. Applies particularly to casual and interchangeable employment and was sought by the longshore industry. (Page 34)

Workmen's Compensation -- GOOD

SB 123. Signed. Repealed any credit provisions for temporary disability payments as far as permanent disability ratings were concerned, resulting in more equitable payments for claimants. (Page 38)

AB 154 and AB 155. Signed. Provided that disability payment shall be made for disability suffered for any day or fraction thereof after the employee leaves work as a result of the injury if the length of the period of disability is in excess of seven days. Previously no payments were received for the first seven days of injury. Also provided for the elimination of the waiting period when the temporary disability lasts more than 49 days. In permanent disability cases, the benefit is due one week after the injury becomes permanent, or one week after temporary disability payments stop, whichever date occurs first. (Page 39)

AB 169. Signed. Increased compensation award due to the serious and wilful misconduct of the employer, from the previous maximum of \$2,500 to \$4,500. Amended in the Assembly, however, to a maximum of \$4,500. Amended in the Assembly, however, to a maximum of \$3,750. (Page 39)

AB 185. Signed. Provided that the Industrial Accident Commission shall set an award for the payment of attorney's fee incurred by an employee as a result of an unreasonable or frivolous appeal to the courts by the employer or insurance carrier. (Page 40)

AB 285. Signed. Increased burial expenses from \$300 to \$400. (Page 40)

AB 424. Signed. Eliminated any credit for temporary disability where death occurs as a result of the injury, thus removing a previous provision whereby, if death occurred more than 12 months after an injury, a deduction of all compensation paid prior to the death was made from the death benefit. (Page 41)

AB 901. Signed. Provided for the determination and payment of attorney's fees in third party suits. (Page 41)

AB 1805. Signed. Provided an increase of 25 percent, up to a maximum of \$7,500, in the death benefit for a widow with one or more dependent children. Provided also that disability indemnity shall not be deducted from and shall be paid in addition to death benefit where the original injury resulting in death (rather than the disability resulting in death) occurs after the effective date of this new act. (Page 41)

AB 2890. Signed. Extended duration of permanent disability benefit payments for those with over 60 percent permanent disability from 240 weeks maximum to 400 weeks on a graduated basis. (Page 42)

Labor Code Changes -- GOOD
(Labor Unions, Wages, Hours)

AB 106. Signed. Provided that every employment agency must notify each applicant of the existence of a labor contract. (Page 10)

AB 160. Signed. Provided that women doing the same work as men receive the same pay, but many qualifying phrases are inserted. (Page 36)

SB 624. Signed. Gave the Department of Industrial Relations power to intervene on its own motion in a labor dispute and made records of the Department on disputes confidential. (Page 14)

SB 1001. Pocket-vetoed. Would have excluded from the labor code maximum hour provisions graduate nurses in hospitals, clinics and biological laboratory technicians in cases of emergencies; and employees engaged in the initial harvesting and/or processing of perishable agricultural horticultural or fish products. (Page 37)

Public Employees -- GOOD

AB 956. Signed. Made improvements in principle in the State Teachers' Retirement System which could add about \$40 to monthly retirement checks; the improvements depended on the appropriation of money and in any case do not become effective until July 1, 1950. (Page 17)

Public Employees -- BAD

AB 2064. Signed. Provided that in the adjustment of salary ranges, improvements of living standards and current costs of living are not to be considered. (Page 20)

Social Welfare -- GOOD
(Pensions, housing, schools)

AB 645. Signed. Increased aid for the partially self-supporting blind from \$75 to \$85 to make their pensions equal to those for the totally dependent blind under Article 25 (the pension initiative). (Page 18)

AB 707 and AB 1138. Signed. Continued child care centers until June 30, 1950, and declared such centers are primarily a matter of local concern. Appropriated \$5,848,500. (Page 7)

(Social Welfare -- GOOD)

AB 1345. Signed. Amended the Welfare Code to bring its old age pension provisions up from \$60 to \$75, to protect pensioners if Article 25 should be repealed outright. (Page 18)

AB 1346. Signed. Amended the Welfare Code to increase aid to the needy blind from \$75 to \$85 to protect pensioners if Article 25 should be repealed outright. (Page 18)

AB 1921. Signed. Repealed sections of the Welfare Code relating to the responsibility of relatives of partially self-supporting blind, making provisions for the partially self-supporting blind the same as those for the dependent blind under Article 25. (Page 18)

SB 850. Signed. Provided state aid to eligible school districts and for sites, building and equipment. Aided impoverished districts, grade schools and kindergartens particularly. (Page 18)

SB 1567. Pocket-vetoed. Would have eliminated the State Re-development Agency and its powers on the housing program. The Agency had had no appropriation since mid-1948. (Page 13)

Miscellaneous -- GOOD

AB 30. Signed. Permitted the manufacture and sale of colored oleomargarine for home consumption. (Page 16)

AB 310. Signed. Exempted ships and materials used in the construction of ships from the sales tax. (Page 43)

AB 807. Signed. Eliminated segregation and discrimination based on race or color in the state militia. (Page 8)

AB 2309. Signed. Provided clear and effective limits on the interest rates of small loans of over \$300. Limited loans of \$100 to \$500 to 24 percent, and loans of \$500 to \$5,000 to 10 percent. Governor Warren had pressed for a stronger measure. (Page 16)

Miscellaneous -- BAD

SB 421. Signed. Permitted prison industrial or agricultural enterprises to have a gross annual production up to \$225,000. The limit had been \$175,000. (Page 44)

PART II

NON-LEGISLATIVE RECORD Action on matters other than signing and vetoing legislative bills

1942 Ran for Governor without labor endorsement.

1943 GOOD
Friendly to labor and helped to put over the California State Federation of Labor's program to eliminate ignominious legislation during the war crisis, despite the fact that he had been opposed by labor in the 1942 elections.

1944 GOOD
Vigorous opponent of Proposition No. 12, the "right to work" (anti-closed shop) measure in the 1944 election.

1945 GOOD
Endorsed health insurance bill and worked for it.
Called special conference on housing.

BAD
Appointed W. F. Knowland to fill the unexpired term of Hiram Johnson, deceased, for the term running from August 14, 1945, to January 3, 1947. Knowland was elected in 1946 for a six-year term. State and Congressional voting records on Knowland 36 good votes, 54 bad votes and 7 absences.

1946 Received both Democratic and Republican primary nominations and was endorsed by the California State Federation of Labor.

GOOD
Called a special session of the legislature to consider nine of the 13 points requested to be considered by the Federation. The Disability Insurance Law was passed at this session due to Warren's strong support of it.

1948 BAD
Opposed Federation measure for Senate Reapportionment, Proposition No. 13.

Governor Warren
Non-Legislative Record

1949

GOOD

Pardoned Redwood Lumber strikers at Federation request.

BAD

Endorsed repeal of Article 25, the liberal pension measure.
Repeal was opposed by the Federation.

Approved removal of rent controls in practically all known instances where it was requested by the city or county involved, except in Sacramento.

1950

GOOD

As a regent of the University of California, voted against loyalty oaths as a means of getting rid of communists in the University.

MEMORANDUM

o:  Jack Henning Glenn Martin  From

e: Earl Warren 7/30/73 Date

Former Chief Justice Earl Warren was born in Los Angeles March 19, 1891 and admitted to the bar in 1914. He married Nina P. Meyers and had six children. He served as Deputy D.A. of Alameda County from 1920-23; as Chief Deputy D.A. in Alameda County from 1923-25 and as District Attorney of Alameda County from 1925 to 1939. He became State Attorney General in 1939, a post he held until 1943 when he was elected Governor. He served as Governor from 1943 to '53 when he was appointed Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, a post he held until 1969.

The period of interest for Mrs. Amelia Fry's oral history project is on the role played by the State Federation of Labor in legislation during Warren's state administration.

The earliest Sacramento Stories I could find in the library were those for 1951 and 1953 which would cover most of the period of your association with Neil in legislative activities. I have this far been^{un}able to reach Greg Castillo, who, as you know, is on vacation to run down the 1949 Sacramento Story which could provide more background. The 1951 and 1953 Sacramento Stories attached herewith appear to be the only copies in the library.

Here are some of the highlights:

1951 Regular Session, January 8-23 and March 12 - June 23, 1951.

-- Historic gains won in workmen's compensation and disability insurance including a boost in maximum weekly U.D.I. benefits from \$25 to \$30; workers on strike enabled to collect benefits if disability from causes other than strike activities; workers to receive full hospitalization benefits when confined to a hospital in addition to 100 percent remuneration from employers; workers enabled to collect regular benefits when not hospitalized if such benefits together with remuneration from employers does not exceed 70 percent of their regular weekly wages.

-- This 1951 U.D.I. benefit boost amounted to about \$10 million in additional benefits for California workers.

-- At the 1949 Federation Convention a boycott of private insurance carriers was instituted because the insurance carriers had fought improvements in the disability law. In 1951 they agreed to support progressive measures that would not endanger the state fund's solvency and the boycott of private carriers was lifted by the Federation.

-- The "marked lobbying activities of the Hearst Press in fighting any liberalization of these (U.I. and D.I.) programs and also in seeking to repeal benefits won in past years" was cited in the 1951 Sacramento Story (top of Page 4, Column 1).

-- 1951 Legislature boosted the maximum weekly temporary disability benefit from \$30 to \$35; increased death benefits from \$6,000 to \$7,000 for an independent survivor and from \$7,500 to \$8,750 where a dependent survivor and a dependent child were involved.

-- It also called for replacement of dentures injured or destroyed in industrial accidents; replacement of damaged glasses if disability exceeded three days rather than seven; provided for compensation for laboratory fees necessary to prove a contested claim.

The foregoing workmen's comp improvements amounted to an annual boost of about \$3.5 million per year for California workers. The Federation succeeded in defeating legislation pushed by the Associated Farmers in kindred groups seeking "hot cargo" and "open shop measures." Governor Warren had asked both labor and capitol to refrain from introducing provocative measures at a time when industrial peace was essential to the national defense effort.

A big business attempt to emasculate a 60-year-old state law permitting workers to obtain two hours off without wage loss for voting on election days was vetoed by Governor Warren at the request of the Federation.

The 1951 Sacramento Story praised Warren saying:

"Governor Earl Warren is also deserving of commendation and thanks for the spirit of his opening message in which he asked the corporate powers of California not to light the fires of industrial warfare through violent class legislation. The Governor maintained this firm position throughout the 1951 session despite heavy and severe attack by reactionary blocs and lobbys."

In other areas:

-- The 1951 legislature passed AB 546, the Federation-sponsored bill by Gaffney and Rumford to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color in the selection of apprentices.

-- The 1951 Sacramento Story notes that "little was actually accomplished to improve farm labor conditions," although the Federation sponsored a bill to bar charging workers for bedding at a labor camp and supported a number of other farm labor bills to curb abuses of farm labor contractors (Pages 10-11).

1953 Regular Session: January 5-17 and February 24 - June 10, 1953:

In the 1953 session the State Federation sponsored more than 160 bills, including measures to establish a state minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, create a state F.E.P.C., repeal the California Jurisdictional Strike Act and increase coverage and benefits in D.I. and U.I. and workmen's compensation programs.

But the 1953 session centered on a measure to impose a compulsory open shop law on California workers introduced by Harold Levering (R-L.A.). It would have outlawed the union shop, the closed shop, maintenance of membership and all other compromised forms of union shop agreements providing for payment of service fees for bargaining efforts (Page 5 -- 1953 Sacramento Story).

No major gains were scored in the 1953 session in either workmen's compensation or unemployment insurance programs but the state disability insurance maximum weekly benefits were boosted from \$30 to \$35 and daily hospital benefits were increased from \$8 to \$10 for the 12 days permitted by law. In addition, two 26-week disability periods for compensable during the calendar year instead of only one previously.

A Federation-backed bill (AB 1527 by Assemblyman Ernest R. Geddes) which continued child care centers on a permanent basis and appropriated \$5.4 million for them and increased the maximum income of eligible parents by 10 percent was enacted.

The legislature refused to act on three measures, including one sponsored by the Federation, to establish a state Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Federation's \$1.25 pay floor bill for men and women died in committee without consideration.

FROM VERNE SCOGGINS
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LABOR

California's labor force jumped from 2,900,000 in 1940 to 4,500,000 in 1950. Keeping pace with such growth has required the complete reorganization and modernization of both the State Department of Employment and the State Department of Industrial Relations. New job classifications and new accident hazards have had to be recognized. Job placement services have had to be expanded. Adjustments have been required in laws governing working conditions. Minimum wage laws for women and minors have had to be broadened and the problem of labor-management relations has had to be recognized as being a matter of statewide concern.

Here are some of the things the Warren administration has done to meet the challenge presented by California's phenomenal industrial growth:

1. To promote a greater degree of industrial peace California's conciliation machinery was strengthened in 1947. More than 900 labor disputes affecting in excess of 183,000 workers have been conciliated since that date. California has gained recognition in both management and labor circles as being a State comparatively free of serious labor-management disturbances.

2. Special on-the-job training and apprenticeship training programs were inaugurated to build a supply of skilled workers available for industrial plant expansion. California leads the nation in the number of apprentices trained under this program.

3. An Institute of Industrial Relations was established at the University of California in 1945 to encourage the training of experts in industrial relations.

4. The State Housing Act was amended to eliminate outmoded building restrictions hampering construction and making it possible to use new materials and construction methods required to keep construction costs at a minimum.

5. Laws governing labor camps were tightened to raise sanitary, fire, and housing requirements. An Urban Redevelopment Act gives cities a plan for slum clearance and the rebuilding of blighted areas.

6. A special division was created in the Department of Employment to assist communities in developing new employment opportunities and to make full utilization of labor, plant capacities, and resources. Statewide conferences were promoted to encourage the scattering of industrial activity throughout the State and thus prevent additional industrial congestion in urban centers. A Commission on Small Business was established to aid small firms to participate in defense mobilization programs.

7. A complete state-operated employment service for job seekers and employers was re-established.

3. Special on-the-job safety training programs were inaugurated throughout the State to educate new industrial workers to the hazards of their employment. As a result of intensive educational programs, disabling work injuries were reduced by 9 percent during the period from 1947 to 1950. Fatal injuries during this same period, when thousands of workers were being employed in industries for the first time, were reduced by 7 percent.

9. More than 30,000 handicapped workers were made self-sufficient and placed in suitable employment through programs of the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Education. Services of this Bureau have been increased to provide job adjustment, medical, surgical, and psychiatric treatment in addition to counseling, training, and placement.

10. The basic minimum wage for women and minors was increased from 45 to 65 cents per hour and discrimination in pay because of sex prohibited. Temporary deviations from the 3-hour law for women were allowed by special permit to meet World War II production needs, but permits were promptly canceled in 1946. To further the current defense program the employment of women in excess of 3 hours a day is again being permitted by special application and under rigid

supervision. Working children in agriculture, formerly excluded, are now under the provisions of California's child labor laws, giving California the highest standard of child labor laws in the nation.

11. Veterans' Advisory Committees were created to encourage maximum placement and employment opportunities for veterans. During the first five months of 1951 half of the men placed through the State Employment Service were veterans.

12. Law enforcement procedures have been strengthened in all respects. Over \$7,000,000 in unpaid wages have been recovered by workers during the last 8 years by the Division of Labor Law Enforcement alone.

13. A state law prohibiting coercion of employees for political purposes has been broadened to include all employers.

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